MR. SPEAKER : That is a valid point. I hope, the senior Members would keep it in mind. Let us stick to the time schedule.

COL. SONA RAM CHOUDHARY (Barmer) : Sir, the interest of the new Members are not being looked after ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRADIP BHATTACHARYA (Serumpore) : Sir, we were given to understand that the hon. members will confine their speeches on a particular subject. But fortunately or unfortunately, everybody is covering all the subjects.

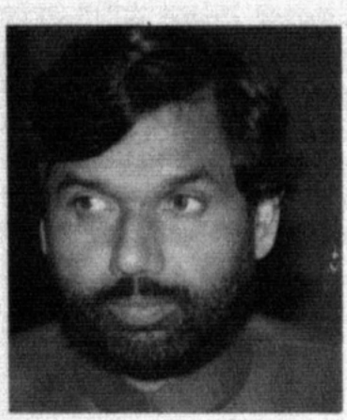
Mr. Speaker, Sir, my submission before you is that if you could kindly have a talk with the Leaders of the political parties in this regard so that the members confine their speeches only on one particular subject. That will help us and the people also.

MR. SPEAKER : I will talk to them.

Now, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, Leader of the House would initiate the debate.

11.10 hrs.

MOTION RE : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY—*Contd.*



SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much. We were not fortunate enough to witness the moment of Independence of our country but our senior members, who are sitting here, had not only witnessed that very moment but had also participated in the freedom struggle. After 50 years of Independence, you have taken initiative for this historic discussion to take place. The level of discussion during the last four days has been of very high standard. It is but natural to have some differences among the Members in the House but the discussion is going on smoothly. As you have just said, this discussion will be extended to the next three days, I feel that some unanimity or result will be arrived at.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that on many issues there is unanimity among the Members. Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav and the leader of the Opposition had given some suggestions about the smooth functioning of the House, on which there is unanimity in House. I think our democratic system will be strengthend by these suggestions.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not speaking here as a Minister but as a Member. As I said at the outset, the Members will be putting forward these views as their personal views. I too want to say something in my personal capacity. India is a big country, then why it had remained a slave for such a long period? Unless we go into these causes, we will not reach a conclusion. I do not think India's economic backwardness was one of the major reasons behind it. Once our country was very well known for its prosperity. The foreign invaders came and looted this country. In fact India was a rich country. India remained slave for a long period. The main reason of our enslavement was our mental enslavement. We can make up our physical weakness but it takes centuries to make up the mental weakness. In this regard, it can be said that one of the major reasons for our enslavement was our mental slavery. Caste system is the main reason behind this. How this caste system had come into existence? The caste system had further developed into sub-caste system. Why did it happen? Many reasons can be attributed therefor. For instance, politicians can be blamed today. There is a class of politicians. Likewise, we have a class of bureaucrates, businessmen and so on. Caste system might have come into existence because people were engaged in different professions. It had a great impact on caste system. The Sikhs, Muslims and Christians are all Indians and they did not come from any foreign land. All are progeny of the same God. Guru Gobind Singh founded the Khalsa Panth and advised his followers to adorn "Kesh, Kangha, Kachha, Kada and Kirpan." This religion had not come from any foreign land. Whom had he chosen his 'Punj Payaras'? They were all from lower caste. When Muslims came from across the border to India, Islam was already there in our country. The first battle of Panipat was fought between two Muslims, *i.e.* between Babar and Ibrahim Lodhi. It was not fought between two Hindu Kings. When Ibrahim Lodhi invaded India, he had an army of only 1,200 soldiers. Now, the population of Muslims in India is 14 crores and their population in Pakistan and Bangladesh put together

is 15 crores. The total Muslim population of all these three countries is more than 29 crores. We can abuse Muslims by saying that they are the progenies of Babar. But all these 30 crore Muslims are not the descendents of Babar. Why our people have proselyted to Islam, why did they embrace Islam? We must give it a thought. In our caste system, we have Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. In Shudras, the further divided them into touchables and untouchables. There are categories therein like persons adopting the profession of performing last rites of people, who stay and eat at the cremation sites. In some of our scriptures all kinds of things have been said. In 'Manu samriti' and other such books it has been said that the sin of killing a shudras is equal to the sin of killing a bird, cat or a dog. When these shudras were converted into Islam they are embraced there with open arms by saying that all are equal in the eyes of God. As a result thereof, a large number of people of the lower castes changed their religion. The Adivasis also opted for conversion and I think the Adivasis are the most honest persons in the country.

I became an MLA in 1979. In 1970 when I visited Ranchi, I met an Adivasi youth in the jail. When I inquired about it he told me that he had murdered a person and thereafter had gone straight to the police station. I took pity on him and asked him to change his statement. He said, no, he had murdered him. Even today, the tribal culture is an honest culture in the country. Today they are living in the state of helplessness. That tribal had converted his religion. The Dalit Christians did not come here from any foreign land. There is not a single Englishman left in the country after Independence. All have left the country. Today Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Andaman and Nicobar Islands are predominately inhibited by Christians and Tribals. Similarly, Kashmir valley is predominantly inhabited by our Muslim brethren and Punjab by Sikhs. Who were these people? Who have converted to Buddhism?

Baba Saheb Ambedkar embraced Buddhism on 14th October, 1956.

"Buddham Sharnam Gachhami,
Sangham Sharnam Gachhami,
Dhammam Sharnam Gachhami."

Ten lakh people embraced Buddhism. All these people were converted from our own religion. I have said several times that we can kill mosquitoes but unless we keep dirty drains clean, breeding of mosquitoes will not stop. I have travelled to numerous countries and noticed that every individual has an identity and dignity in developed countries whereas even after fifty years of independence, an individual does not have an identity or dignity in our country. In our country, man is known by his caste. There are scholars in all the communities but in elections one gets defeated simply because the people of his caste are less in number in his constituency. The caste system has deprived the dalits, backward classes and women of their rights and opportunities, even the high caste people have been under attack in the prevalent caste system.

In our country candidates like Ambedkar find it difficult to win elections. I am not talking of Ambedkar only. It is true in case of every party that its candidate gets defeated in election if people of his caste constitute insignificant percentage of total voters in the constituency. That is why I said that the caste system has spoiled every thing and lowered the dignity of individual in this country and debilitated our social set up. That is why I said that we can change every thing in this country including religions and governments, we can enrich a poor and empoverish a rich person but we cannot effect any change in the rigid caste system in the country. While recalling the names of our freedom fighters the names of leaders like Dr. Ambedkar who was later recognised as a messiah, Periyar and Mahatma Phule are not cited and it is said that they. did not participate in the struggle of freedom. While the struggle for freedom was going on, the people followed two different ideologies. The believers of one ideology had a question before them as to whether the freedom meant merely freedom of the country or it would bring prosperity to the people and after freedom in the new regime what would be the position of those people at grass root level who have been subjected to repression for centuries and ages together ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi) : That means we should not have fought for our freedom ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I will speak what you ask me to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*

You have not gone through the literature of Dr. Ambedkar. You must go through it. During a meeting with the Britishers, Dr. Ambedkar had said that the country was of paramount importance for him. Like all other leaders he too was against the British rule. But Dr. Ambedkar, Periyar and Mahatma Phule wanted to know as to what would be the status of the people of backward classes in free India and they wanted to decide this issue in advance. Some people want to establish that Ambedkar's ideology was opposed to that of Mahatma Gandhi's but, I am not of that ilk. Gandhiji followed the middle path. Our leaders have said about Lord Buddha. But Lord Buddha had said that one should not tighten the strings of *Veena* so much that they might break down, neither the strings should be left so much loose that they might not produce any music. Gandhiji

had two targets before him, on the one hand, he wanted to free the country and on the other he wanted eradication of the social evil of caste system. Gandhiji had sensed the resentment brewing among the people of lower castes from ages. Gandhiji asked the people to understand their resentment instead of abusing them. Baba Saheb Ambedkar became a Minister and the conveyor of the Constituent Assembly. Thus we are not among those who think Gandhiji was opposed to Ambedkarji. We view them as complementary to each other. But at the same time, I must say that Dr. Ambedkar was not an ordinary man. He was a scholar and he was worried about the future of the thus far suppressed people. But from the developments that are taking place now a days it seems as if no communal or casteriots are taking place. The Naxatile movements are neither caste based riots, nor communal riots, these are of different nature. Why naxalite activities are going on? Let us think about it seriously. We talk of amending the system. Yesterday I had heared several hon'ble Members who made good analysis of things. The background paper given to us by the Hon. Speaker is a historic document wherein facts have been furnished with data.

I would like to say one more thing that unfortunately the people serving as think tank of the country have always been of aristocratic nature and we have always been plagued with feudal tendencies. Our country has been under monarchy wherein the King is considered as incarnation of the God. He could do anything right or wrong and even then he was deemed as God. Rama, Krishna, Gautam or Mahavira who are deemed as incarnations of the God, were all Kings. They were born in royal families and later they brought social revolution and gave a new direction to the society. Well, the king is always right but on the other hand common people do not have any dignity. I think this tendency is very dangerous.

Sir, a few days back Sharad ji was saying something about T.V. during my Goa tour I had some excess time and therefore I switched on the TV on which a story of a God and demon was being shown. I saw that a serpent was treated as a rope and a mountain as a churning stick. The demons held the serpent snake from the head and the gods from the tail and then the ocean was churned and nine precious things emerged out of it including a pot of nectar on which there was a dispute between both the parties. The demon said they should be given the nectar as they had toiled hard to get it and had been holding the snake by its head. But the Gods were cunning. They said that they will arrange for an arbitration and, therefore, Lord Vishnu disguised as Mohini came for arbitration. She kept smiling at the demons but gave nectar to the Gods. But there was a clever and highly educated demon, named Rahu. He thought that the demon had been holding the snake by head but the gods are relishing the nectar. So he took the form of a god and joined the group of Gods. But this came to the notice of Lord Vishnu who beheaded him with his chakra. Even today we see that those who do manual labour are not treated with respect but those who are considered respectable, have no work at all! Those who work, have no power whereas those who enjoy power do not have any work. Those who work more, get less wages and those who work less, get more wages. Until this system is changed and dignity of labour is restored, nothing can be done in this country. We see that 35% of our people are living below the poverty line. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI (Howrah) : Paswan ji, these days an M.P. is considered as monster and a Minister as God. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : No doubt, during the last fifty years of our independence, the country has made much progress. Our Prime Minister as well was other hon'ble Members have also said that there was a time when even needle was imported by India, but today we are developing missiles. We have developed 'Agni'. We have made much progress, but as our colleagues have said, our technology and science require much more advancement. Today, we are procuring most of our arms, that is nearly 70 per cent, on credit. We developed our advance technology with great efforts but we never believed in that because so far we have been in the habit of leaving everything to God and upto fate. I want to say something in this regard. When a doctor gets into his vehicle and somebody at that point of time, sneezes, the doctor would stop for a moment. Likewise, if a person sets out for somewhere from his place and in case somebody sneezes, he will also stop, see and then move forward. Only the doctor knows the reasons as to what made one sneeze time and again. But he is so badly caught by the fear cast by superstitions that he would definitely stop and sit down in case somebody sneezes. Likewise, when a cat crosses your way, the same kind of complexity arises. Yesterday, Sharad ji was referring to the incident of offering of milk with spoon to Lord Ganesha by the well educated people. Atal ji, I used to read a lot about Bapuji in our childhood. He was a great saint and I have learnt a lot from him. I want to let you know something about Lord Ganesha. We always offer 'Laddu' (a kind of sweet) to Lord Ganesha in our pooja because in the prayer we sing that— "Jai Ganesha Jai Ganesha Jai Ganesha Deva, Mata Teri Parvati, Pita Mahadeva. Phool Chadhe, Pan Chadhe Aur Chadhe Mewa, Laduwan Ka Bhog Lage Aur Sant Kare Sewa." Lord Ganesha always likes Laddu but it is amazing as to how come he started drinking milk! We have heard and read in the books that Lord Ganesha

eats Laddu but we never heard that Ganesha drinks milk also. However, that day he indeed drink milk all over the world. My submission is that religion is quite a different thing. It is like a lamp. A lamp can flood your house with light but it can set your house on fire too. Take the case of an engineer, if he does not give good quality of cement and bricks and keeps a black coloured earthen pot on the top of the house so that nobody could cast a bad eye on it, then what is the use of his education? We have to eliminate this superstition.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today I find that the percentage of dalit people living under poverty line is more than 50 per cent and people belonging to general category constitute nearly 35 per cent. There are three crore homeless people in India. The number of blind people all over the world is 3 crore and 80 lakh, out of which one crore and twenty lakh people are in India alone. There are one crore and forty lakh T.B. patients in India. Even today, five lakh people die of T.B. every year. Plague was eradicated from whole of the world but the way this disease invaded the city of Surat two years back, made India again as untouchable in the eyes of the world. During the spread of this disease, nobody from India was allowed to land on a foreign soil unless he was vaccinated properly. Sir, I was going through the figures which tell us that even today potable drinking water is not available in almost one lakh villages. Drinking water is not available in almost five lakh and seventy five thousand villages. No doubt, death rate has come down and average age of human beings has gone up but at the same time, various problems have also arisen before us. Till 1996, there were 3 crore, 68 lakh and 2050 people registered in various Employment Exchanges. During the last three years, 408 communal riots have taken place. During the years 1995 and 1996, the number of the incidents of communal riots were 710 and 692 respectively. Our foreign debt has gone upto Rs. 3,15,435 crore. We are paying back Rs. 68000 crore per year as interest on foreign debt. I do not say that the country has not made any progress. It has definitely made progress but at the same time, we are faced with so many challenges and I think we can not ignore them. We will have to accept the challenges. I am also one of those who agree with your view that we have to wage yet another freedom struggle. This view is one hundred per cent correct. For this, first we have to make an assessment of our achievements during the last fifty years and then prepare ourselves for another battle of freedom.

Sir, I was listening to Mulayam Singhji when he was delivering his speech. He was very correct when he said that unless a sense of confidence was instilled in the minds of our tribal people, dalits, Muslims, women, minorities and the poor belonging to upper castes, this country can not march ahead. We talk of religion, but I say, that there should be no religion of a country. Some people chant 'Hindu Rashtra-Hindu Rashtra' but I never talked of a Hindu Rashtra. I have never read the word 'Hindu' in the 'Ramayana'. I have read Geeta, Qoran, Upnishadas but in none of these holy books I found the word 'Hindu'. Where from the word 'Hindu' has been derived, I do not know. It might be known to the people who are interpreting this word and, hence, I request them to let us know as to wherefrom the world 'Hindu' has been derived? My only submission is that there should be no religion of a country — be it a Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or Christian religion. As water has no religion (property) of its own, a country should also have no religion. Hot water remains hot and cold water remains cold — whether it is touched by a Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or Christian or any person of any religion. Likewise, a country remains a country and it gives justice to all be it a Hindu, a Muslim, a Sikh or a Christian. It works for the welfare of all. Today if our Muslim brothers say that during the time of partition they were given such and such per cent of reservation in the Government jobs which has now been reduced, then there is no point in saying such things. These people say that we should try to bring our Muslim brothers in the mainstream of the country. But how much effort will you make to bring them in the mainstream of the country? If we go through the history of pre-independence period, we find that when Bahadur Shah Zafar was arrested by the Britishers in 1857 and taken to Rangoon, he was told by a Britisher that —

"Dam Dame Mein Dam Nahin Hai
Khair Mango Jaan Ki
Ae Zafar Bas Ho Chuki Hai
Tere Hindustan Ki."

In response to this Bahadur Shah Zafar had recited the following lines:—

"Hindiyon Mein Boo Rakhegi Jab talak imaan ki,
Tab Talak Jang Chalegi Takht Hindustan ki."
Bahadur Shah Zafar had said before his burial —
"Do Gaj Jameen na Mili
Zafar Kue Yaar mein."

He could not get even two yards of land on his soil. Be it Sirajuddoula or Tipu Sultan or Haidar Ali—all of them fought for the country. Khudi Ram was a Hindu, Sardar Bhagat Singh was a Sikh and Ashafaq Ullah Khan was a Muslim but all of them fought together against the Britishers.

Bismillah Khan composed the following rythemic lines:—

'Sarfaroshi Ki Tamanna Ab Hamare Dil Main Hai
Dekhana Hai Zor Kitna Bajuye Katil Mein Hai.'

Dr. Kalam has been appointed as the Head of the Department of Science and Technology. What is his religion? We are proud of Sunil Gavaskar in the field of cricket. But are we not proud of Azharuddin? If we remember Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, then do we not remember Maulana Azad? If we remember Mukesh, do we not remember Mohammad Rafi? If we are proud of Lata Mangeskar, are we not proud of Noorjehan? This is our cultural heritage. If Hindus have made sacrifices, our Muslim and Sikh brothers have also made sacrifices and their sacrifices are in no way less than that of Hindus. Time and again it is said that efforts should be made to bring our Muslim brothers into the national mainstream.

Recently I visited Uttar Pradesh in the capacity of Minister of Railways. Abdul Hamir. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SUNDER LAL PATWA (Chhindwara) : Shri Paswan is an intelligent man. He is the leader of the House. You have given a specific direction to the discussion in the House and have also specified some subjects to be discussed. I expect you to decide as to what issues do you wish to raise. Although I do not have any right to intervene but I do expect that we shall be grateful if you throw some light on the subjects which have been taken up and keep up with the set trend.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I am coming to that. My topic is strengthening the nation. ...*(Interruptions)* I am speaking about honesty. Joshiji, whenever I speak on this issue, I speak about honesty and sincerity. There is no distinction like BJP or Janata Dal. I am amongst those people who had said that dalits will not be benefited from the Mandal Commission. When the issue of Mandal Commission was raised we were backing the leaders of the backward classes all the way in order to fight for the rights of backward castes. Today also when the issue of women's reservation is being raised, I am one of the supporter of this demand. I am fully aware of it. Ours is a male dominated country. ...*(Interruptions)* I have got very limited time. Please let me speak.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You have already taken 30 minutes.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, I will conclude within five minutes.

[Translation]

There are three pillars of democracy. i.e. the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. I am on the point of sincerity. Whichever post we may be holding, all the problems being faced by the people are raised in the Parliament — the Lok Sabha. We also enact laws. I said this yesterday also when Atalji was present here. I said that the discussion on the matter taken up by the legislative side is of sentimental value. But when the matter is referred to the bureaucracy, they start applying their mind. We in the Parliament, pass the law regarding dalits, tribals, minorities or women. Here we decide things in their favour and then the matter is referred to the Executive by us, but there our Members do not have any representation, and so they apply their mind there. The result is that all our efforts got futile. People will have this feeling about the Judiciary as well. Those in the lower most strata of the society like Dalits and Tribles, are also at the lowest level economically, politically and in bureaucracy. How do we bring a change in this order? All the SC and ST MPs were present in the House. All of them were of the same view that effective steps would have to be taken to overcome the injustice suffered for thousands of years. Therefore, I say that today our party is in power and next time your party may be in power but we shall have to deal with the problems being faced at the social level in the country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would also like to add that for our freedom and for our country and whenever I say this, I stress it time and again that it was not only the dalits or tribals alone who took part in the freedom struggle. Gandhiji was a Vaishya but the Father of the Nation. Mahatma Budha was Kshatriya. Baba Saheb Ambedker had said "Buddham Sharanam Gachchaami." Vivekanand was a Kayastha. He too had advocated that the Shudras must be given their due right. If these people rise, they will destroy you. Although Dayanand Saraswati was a Brahmin, yet he had spearheaded the movement against meaningless rituals and had to pay a heavy price for it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to submit that we have to fight against all these social evils. We have to fight against meaningless rituals. Although I am the Railway Minister and I have no hesitation in saying that many a times we abuse the Britishers but whenever I glance at the map of India, I find that Britishers may or may not have left us something but they certainly have made India a unified India. The Britishers have unified the country by providing us the Rail system. 58,000 kilometres long rail track was

laid during their period. I do not wish to praise them but I would certainly like to point out that we have not paid as much attention towards the infrastructure after Independence as was expected of us. Today Kashmir region remains virtually untouched where not a single kilometer of rail line has been laid and also there is no means of communications. Our entire North-East region is also untouched.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue of corruption is being raised. I too had participated in the J.P. movement. I had been in jail too. It is not an ordinary matter to fight corruption. I have seen this in my own Ministry. If you go to Pragati Maidan, you will see all sorts of items from a pin to a railway engine, involving Rs. 7000 crores of business. All such items have been displayed in the exhibition. I said that we would hold such exhibitions every three months. Today we want that there should be transparency but it is the misfortune of our nation that there is no transparency. Although all types of illegal activities are being carried out behind the closed doors yet if a glass is put up, the apprehensions of occurrence of such activities are minimised. I am very much aware that when you step up the fight against corruption, the corrupt people being in a strong position would spare no effort to thwart your attempts. But I would like to make an appeal to the honest people that criticism is just like shower of water. If it is shower on a raw earthen pot, the pot will buckle under its pressure but a mental pot will shine brighter if washed with water. Hence we are very pleased that as far the issue of corruption, honesty is very much appreciated in India and the honest persons are praised here. Mr. Speaker, Sir, hence there is a need to reach a consensus on corruption and take some concrete steps in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the end, I would like to add one more point and then conclude. I have time and again stated that there is no dearth of leaders and policies in our country. What we lack is the good intentions on the part of leaders. Ours is a detailed written constitution in the world. If we had followed, enforced and implemented it sincerely then we would have been celebrating this occasion of 50 years of Independence with more gaiety. As I said in the beginning also that there is no doubt about the fact that we have made achievements and we could have made more achievement and how we could make more achievements in future is what we have to ponder over. You have described the background of the concept and I feel that something good would definitely come out of the historic session which will serve as a guiding light for the next fifty years. With these words I would like to thank you and the Hon'ble Members of the House very much.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI (Allahabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you that you have presented a historic document about 50 years of Independence before the House, which has also been referred to by Shri Ram Vilas Paswanji. Although science and technology has also been included in it yet this Parliament has shown scant interest in science and technology. This Parliament has not held discussion on science and technology even for 45 hours in the last 45 years from 1952 to 1997 after adoption of the Constitution. The House had not held discussion even on the budget of Science and Technology. Earlier, the Prime Minister himself used to hold the charge of Science and Technology as a Cabinet Minister and appoint a minister incharge to assist him. Now, perhaps that tradition has also come to an end.

I do not know who is the Minister incharge of Science and Technology. If we had discussed science and technology in the House even for 45 hours, it would not have been sufficient because after globalization, science and technology and research and development are most important for competitiveness. I am sorry to say that in the 15th session of 10th Lok Sabha the House had sitting for 101 hours and 39 minutes, out of which 577 hours and 17 minutes were wasted in interruptions and adjournments. 57 hours were wasted in interruption in a session but we could not have discussion on science and technology even for 45 hours in 45 years from 1952 uptil now. A debate took place on science and technology for five or six hours in 1958 when a motion on science policy was moved in the House. After that, a debate also took place when technological policy was taken up for consideration in 1983. I was under the impression that there would be a discussion on science and technology when industrial policy and defence policy would come up for consideration. The time is yet to come. Perhaps, we are waiting for the discussion on this policy in the 21st century. Whenever that century comes, we will discuss these issues.

I am thankful to Shri Vajpayee for his suggestion to devote sometime to discuss serious issues. The 20th century is coming to an end and perhaps we would be able to spare time to discuss issues relating to science and

technology in the 21st century. However, despite all this, our country has made remarkable progress in science and technology. There is no doubt that the progress could have been more than that. Even then, we have established various laboratories, like National Physical Laboratory, National Chemical Laboratory and Botanical Laboratory in the country. There was hardly any scientific field on which we did not have a laboratory. These laboratories were established but what is the condition of these laboratories today? The technology and the equipment/instruments of these laboratories have become obsolete in these 50 years. When we requeresed on behalf of the Science and Technology Committee, the then Prime Minister Shri Narasimha Rao had indicated to give sufficient amount in the budget of 1995–96 for the purpose. But that promise is also fading slowly. I do not understand as to why are we negleting science and technology. Why we have not modernized these laboratories? How can we compete with the technology of the laboratories of the world, which are spending thousands of crores of dollars for the modernization of their laboratories? We are even not in a position to spend Rs. 100 crore in the modernisation of our laboratories. C.S.I.R. has organised laboratories well and some laboratories have even set records at international level. D.R.D.O. has done a good job. It could have given better results. I want to submit that D.R.D.O. has not become competent to face those situations for which it was established. What are the reasons? We shall have to think about the condition of scientists of the C.S.I.R., D.R.D.O. has achieved good results during the last few years and we are proud of scientists who have set high records in the field of missiles and weapons. 'Prithvi' and 'Agni' missiles are the latest examples. But, we have still to go a long way. We have to develop missiles of higher stricking capacity for the defence of the country. I feel that we can discuss science and technology only when our borders are secure through weapons.

There is a saying in Sanskrit :—

"Shastra Na Rakhshite Rashtre

Shastra Charcha Pravarte."

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum) : I am glad that you are drawing our attention to science and technology. Here is the publication of the Government subsidies in India. You are discussing here the list under subsidies.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I am coming to that point. I am happy that you have brought this to the notice of the House.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Expenditure on Atomic Energy research, Space research, Oceanography research, other scientific researches; all the expenditure on these are considered to be subsidies.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : That is right.

[Translation]

This is one aspect to which I wanted to invite the attention of the House. Shri Chatterjee has also drawn the attention to that aspect. He had said that we considered the money being spent on the scientific activities as grant. ... *(Interruptions)* I am thankful to him and the House should also thank him. Whatever we spend on the research is not subsidy. That is an investment. There is need to change this mentality of bureaucracy about the research. I will shed light on it when I make a mention of the expenditure on science and technology.

11.52 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I do not want to speak at length because there is a need to improve the condition of D.R.D.O. There is a need to allocate more funds to it and there is also a need to improve the working conditions of the scientists. The Government should pay attention towards the matter relating to their promotion etc. It should not ignore this aspect. Whatever expenditure is incurred for the defence is meant to protect the democracy and the country. If we look further, we shall find that this is spent for the humanity. If we keep India strong and safe then we can contribute towards world peace.

But we should pay much attention towards our defence research institutions. We have also made achievements in the field of space research. Statellites have been launched which are earning at lot of financial profit to the country. There is ample commercial potential in this field and the country can even earn crores of dollars as a result thereof. Our foreign exchange reserve position can be improved and further research work can be undertaken by the revenue earned therefrom. Moreover we can compete even with advanced countries which are throwing competition to us in the name of globalization. If Indian satellites are launched in space, the spare time sold by us will be at a cheaper rate in comparison to other countries. Our satellites and rocket launchers are not discouraged from defence point of view but mainly due to reasons of commercials possibilities because it will also pose challenge to the 4 or 5 members of space club. They are scared because our technology is cost effective which can be sold at low rate by us and we

could be able to launch more satellites. I can say it definitely that the business rendered by satellites of other countries will suffer loss and for this more funds and assistance should be provided for space research. In the same way our scientists in the field of space research have developed rocket engines and although this technology was not being provided to us. Now we have gone ahead in this field. I hope that not only we will be able to develop cryogenic engines but we can also export them, if proper assistance is provided for it.

Our country has set up new records in electronics and computers. Our countryman had invented and developed computer even when computer technology was refused to us by other countries and now we are making further improvements in it. We have overcome these challenges and those countries which used to make fun of us, are now trying to set up their own business here so that they could compete with Indian computers.

Our country has also made progress in the field of chemicals. It is our traditional business. Now a days we are exporting catalyst technology. We are exporting all types of chemicals and also exporting a bulk quantity of catalyst. More emphasis should be laid on matters of nuclear power. In 1972 we had conducted a nuclear test. China conducted nuclear test afterwards but at present in comparison to our country, China has made tremendous progress in the field of nuclear power. I am sorry to say that our country hesitate on this front. Now-a-days development of nuclear power has become inevitable from the energy, medicine, agriculture and defence point of view. We should not hesitate in this regard. The change in atomic policy and U-turn in this regard in 1972 had demoralised our scientists. The Government is emphasizing time and again that atomic bomb will not be made. Our present policy neither boosts the morale of our army nor of our scientists. We would have been one of the world powers, permanent member of Security Council and position of foreign investment would have improved if we had made nuclear bomb in 1972, when nuclear test was conducted. In that condition no neighbouring country would have dared to invade our borders. We had high expectations in the field of nuclear power. But now a days it seems that study and research in nuclear science has been stopped. While reading the Atomic Energy Act, one finds no mention of the word 'atom'. It is a useless act and so far has not been discussed in this very House. Proper attention should be paid towards it. I have figures regarding decline in allocation of funds in the field of nuclear power every year. It is not proper.

There are some new fields. We have also taken up some new subjects like information and technology, bio-technology and medicines. These are our achievements. Our country has made progress in the field of agricultural research which has drifted from its goal at present. This tendency should be checked. It seems that multinational companies are trying to get patented the outcome of agricultural research. We have to avoid this situation. This has not been created by the Government. The progress is due to capabilities and research of our scientists. The expenditure percentage of G.N.P. on research and development (R&D) reveals what we are doing in this field.

Czech Republic spends 1.8 per cent of its G.N.P. on R and D, Denmark spends 1.8 per cent, Japan spends 3 per cent, Republic of Korea spends 2.8 per cent, England spends 2.8 per cent, U.S.A. spends 2.9 per cent and India spends 0.8 per cent on R & D. Even Cuba spends 0.9 per cent, which is more than us. All developed countries spend more than 2 per cent and upto 3 per cent of G.N.P. on R and D whereas we spend 0.8 per cent of G.N.P. It may be considered and I am surprised to see that we have started globalisation process rapidly during 1990–91 which meant that we want to go with the world in its competitive economy.

12.00 hrs.

We should have rapidly developed our R and D. We should have spent more on R and D but I would like to tell you about what we are spending. At the earlier stages, our expenditure on R and D was 0.98 per cent of G.N.P. It came down to 0.89 per cent in 1985–86, 0.94 per cent in 1986–87, 0.96 per cent in 1988-89, 0.92 per cent in 1989-90, 0.83 per cent in 1991-92, 0.86 per cent in 1993–94, 0.81 per cent in 1994–95 and 0.80 per cent in 1996–97. When we were in non-competitive economy, we were paying more attention towards R and D. When we were in competition, we were spending 0.98 per cent, which comes to almost one per cent. Now, it has come down to 0.80 per cent. These types of concepts and policies would not help us. I would like to request that there is a need of consensus. The major consensus can be that we should improve one budgetary provision, one R and D and science and technology of our country and we should make more and more allocation therefor.

I would like to tell one more thing. We should also pay attention towards the condition of research papers and research publications, which come out after research. In 1981, when research papers used to come out all over the world, at that time the Indian publication was 2.44 per cent. It has come down to 1.77 per cent in 1991, 1.75 per cent in 1992, 1.68 per cent in 1993, 1.66 per cent in 1994 and 1.57 per cent in 1995–96. Why all this is happening? Why the number of our research publications is reducing? How many research papers among them get clearance for International Journals? The number of research papers which are mentioned as examples is more disgusting. The

figure is 0.1 per cent. I would like to tell that during 1995–96 a total of 11,084 research papers were published and our share was 0.1 per cent out of it. This is our position and there is no other meaning inherent in it. I have to go through a number of theses and I have to reject most of them. Now the situation is that the people are afraid of sending me the theses since I reject them. The reason for this is that their level is poor. These are not worthy of being called the research papers of international standard. The House should ponder over it seriously. God knows which direction we are moving to. This was not the situation before independence. If we ponder over it, we will come to know that the situation was totally different before independence. Dr. C.V. Raman was awarded Nobel Prize in this 20th century before independence and now after 50 years none of the Indian scientists has been awarded Nobel Prize for research. If we name Shri Govind Khurana and Chander Shekhar, they did their entire work in America. We can merely pat on our back that they took birth in our country, but they did the entire research work in America. We should not forget these things. Today we are not able to get the Nobel Prize. It is very difficult for us to become F.R.S. Except 2–3 scientists who worked till independence, how many new scientists have become F.R.S. during the last 20–25 years and how many have been recognised at international level. This question would be worth consideration for any country and specially country which have such a big man power. Shri C.V. Raman had not worked with any imported equipment. I remember very well that when I was a student of B.Sc. in 1949 Shri C.V. Raman had paid a visit to our college to address the convocation. At that time, he had felt that there was a tendency to import scientific equipments in the country. He had warned against it and later on, he had even remarked that—

[English]

> "Boys, when we import we not only pay for our ignorance but we also pay for our incompetence."

[Translation]

Shri C.V. Raman had not worked on any foreign equipment. He had worked on a very simple equipment costing Rs. 250 to Rs. 300. Today if it is given to a student of B.Sc., he would not like to work on it. But it is a very serious issue why there has been decline in scientific studies, research and devotion towards it. Shri Satyendra Nath Bose was the only scientist of the world before freedom whose name was associated with Einstein. It was Bose Einstien statistics. His name had not been associated with any other scientist for a scientific theory. He used to work alone. None could dare to reach that height and touch him. Shri Satyendra Nath Bose was young then. When one of his research essay was sent to foreign countries, the scientists saw it and sent it to Einstien. He had raised a very complicated question. Einstien had remarked that it was a very good research paper and he was ready to get associated with it and also to get it published. Why does another Satyendra Nath Bose takes birth in our country?

Sir, I had seen him. Both of us were the pupils of the same teacher and he used to visit Allahabad occasionally and stayed in my house. He was a saint like person. If he had been introduced to any modern scientist, then the modern scientist would not have believed that he was a scientist since he was a saint like person and not a hypocrite. He was very intelligent and he did such a good work. Why such a work is not being done today? There were Prof. Meghnath Saha, Shri Birbal Sahni, Prof. P.C. Roy and Shri Neel Ratan Dhar who had donated 70 lakh rupees at that time from their income from patents. They gave donation to Banaras and Allahabad Universities and set up Sheeladhar institute. What was the value of Rs. 70 lakh 60–70 years back? One could imagine the amount they would have earned from patent and today what is the condition of our patents? Why do not scientists like Meghnath Saha and Neel Ratan Dhar take birth in our country? Why does not other Ramanujam take birth? Even today, one gets a Ph.D. degree by resolving their questions. The achievements during the period of slavery *i.e.* from 1901 to 1947 were so great but which direction we have moved from 1947 to 1997. The House will have to think over as to why this situation has emerged? Prof. P.C. Roy, Jagdish Chandra Bose, Satyendra Nath Bose and C.V. Raman had understood the ancient glorious scientific traditions very well and achieved the scientific goal.

Sir, I would like to submit that Prof. P.C. Roy had written the history of Indian chemistry and he had told about the past glorious traditions of science in our country. Today, we are asked to look to the West for each scientific invention and see, what is going on in America, Germany, England, France and Japan? But the conditions were different some 200–250 years back and totally different some 1000, 1200 or 1500 years back. Before I make a reference to old scientific traditions of our country, I would like to submit that today it is told that the experimental science originated in the West and only they had taught the new experiments to the world and there was no experimental science prior to them and if there had been any scientist in India, he was merely a theoretician and credited with invention of zero or infinity. It is further told that though Bhaskara had invented some equations of mathematics, the experimental sciences had originated from West. I had mentioned about the Royal Society which was an important scientific institution. What was its condition then? Acharya P.C. Roy wrote that:

[English]

"As some of you are aware, a solemn discussion arose among the foundation members of the Royal Society as to whether a dead fish weighed more than live one."

[Translation]

Does a dead fish weigh more than a live one? It was the condition of the experimental science in 1662 and that of the founder members of the Royal Society and its great experimental scientists.

[English]

"When the Royal Society was founded in 1662 by Boyle, Hooke, Christopher Wren and other students of Nature, Hobbes sneered at them as 'experimentarians."

[Translation]

Hobbes and Hooke were the philosophers. The people of political science know their names very well. These philosophers used to say that they had come for doing experiments.

[English]

What are these 'experimentalists'.

[Translation]

They were looked down upon and neglected in this way. This was their condition.

[English]

"If such was the respect for accurate knowledge even in England in the 17th century, we should not be justified in applying a rigid test to the knowledge of India in the past ages."

[Translation]

What was the condition of India? He says.

[English]

"There were two books on Hindu chemistry, namely, *Rasenara-cintamani* by Ramchandra, and *Rasa-prakasa-Sudhakara* by Yasodhara, both belonging to the 13th or 14th century A.D.."

Says the formers, that is, Ramachandra "That which I heard of learned men and have read in the *Sastras* but have not been able to verify by experiment I have discarded."

I do not believe any of those statements in those books which I have not verified myself.

"On the other hand, those operations which I have according to the directions of my sage teachers, been able to perform with my own hands — those along I am committing to writing."

[Translation]

Our country was at the experimental stage, which I have not been able to perform with my own hands, which I have not been able to verify by experiment. I have not written about it in the book.

[English]

Where was the west?

[Translation]

What Science and Technology they had? What were they doing? Chidambaramji is present here. He is speaking only about their economy and technology.

[English]

What was the state of their technology in 1662?

[Translation]

Further he says:

[English]

"Those are to be regarded as real teachers who can verify by experiments what they teach those are to be regarded as laudable disciples who can perform what they have learned teacher and pupils, other than these are mere actors on the stage."

[Translation]

Teachers are those who can explain by experiments what they teach and disciples are those who can perform what they have learned. Sharadji, Did you understand? This is the scientific tradition of the country. You should mention it accordingly.

[English]

"The wrought-iron pillar close to Kutub near Delhi which is some 1,500 years old; the huge iron girders at Puri; the ornamental gates of Somnath and the 24 ft. wrought-iron gun at Narwar—are monuments of a bygone art

and bear silent but eloquent testimony to the marvellous metallurgical skill attained by the Hindus."

Regarding the Kutub pillar, Ferguson says:

"It has not, however, been yet correctly ascertained what its age really is. There is an inscription upon it, but without a date. From the form of its alphabet, Princep ascribed it to the 3rd or 4th century; Bhau Daji, on the same evidence, to the end of the 5th century. Our own conviction is that it belongs to one of the Chandra Rajas of the Gupta dynasty, either subsequently to A.D. 363 or A.D. 400."

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : You are mentioning about it. Are you doing something?

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : During the period of Upnishads, Aryabhat could do all these things. I am drawing your attention towards this. I am drawing your attention towards our scientific tradition. Those are teachers who can explain by experiments what they teach and those are disciples who can perform what they have learned, other than these are mere film actors. This was our tradition, about which he had said that it is a very old tradition. Later, I would further mention about the tradition which is much older than this. Further he mentioned about technology. Acharya P.C. Roy further says:

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : If you permit, I would like to say something. You were the teacher. Then, why this sorry plight?

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : It is because I got disciples like you.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Now, you are in a position to say all these things.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Joshiji, the problem is that you have not created such disciples.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I had one disciple, who later became the Prime Minister but you have destroyed him. He was under my guidance. He has joined your company. What can I do?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You are giving good information but 30 minutes have already passed.

SHRI SUNDER LAL PATWA : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is a very complicated subject and we have only few such hon. Members who have command over the subject and Joshiji is one among them. So I request that he may be given more time.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : He is Acharya P.C. Roy and this book is written by D.P. Chattopadhyay, not by any B.J.P. person. Today, in the morning, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan was delivering a speech. I was listening to him seriously. He was telling the reasons for poverty in the country. How our science and technology has been destroyed in our country? Without going into its history you can't go into the basics of the poverty and all the problems of the country. I don't have any objection if you blame 'Manusmriti' or any other. You have every right to blame all but one should understand the causes of poverty in the country? How and when poverty has spread in the country? How a country which was once called golden bird had turned poor, beggar and how the country had come into debt trap? What were the reasons behind it? Were market forces, or any social, political forces behind it? There is no need to take one sided decision. The reason behind it was that our technology was destroyed. Earlier people used to think that west had technology. But it was wrong. I would tell you that there was nothing like technology before 17th century. We fought battle of Plassey in 1757 and lost the war and Industrial Revolution stared in 1760. Steam Engine was invented quite earlier but why it didn't come in the market? You just look at the condition of England. During 17th century, they didn't have anything to eat and wear. When for the first time potato went into their empty stomach, then they felt that this world is worth living. They didn't know weaving, they didn't have cotton there. When the British came to India for the first time, they said that the Indians are very clever. They grow wool on plants whereas it should be on sheep. They don't have manners, they grow wool on plants. Does cotton and wool is produced in our country? The books on textile Industry were introduced during 1920–25. Today those books have been abandoned because we are ready to adopt western concept of textile industry. You just look at the condition of textile industry and spindle. Yesterday hon'ble Narsimha Rao ji was mentioning about it. He had raised some good questions. Of course, I would touch those points for five minutes but you just look at what has happened in our country.

Now, I would talk about steel technology. I am quoting from the book written by Shri Dharmpal. Dr. Benigamin Hyne sent this report in September, 1795. I would not go into its details.

The cost of English malleable Iron was 5 pound 10 shillings. Now let us calculate which one was cheaper. J. Campbell has mentioned about it by calculating it in 'annas'. He also mentioned about manufacturing of Bar Iron

in South India. Now it is being mentioned that British have introduced trains in our country to unite all the people. If it was introduced to unite the people then it should have been introduced in North East states first. The trains have not been introduced to render service rather these have been introduced to transport raw material from India to abroad. They have introduced trains to carry on trade and to bring their finished goods into our country. Do not remain in this misunderstanding. I would like to request you to go through history and particularly about Babu Bhai Nauroji. You will come to know as to why rail service was introduced in India. The credit of uniting India should not be given to Britishers. Even today, India is one and united. Since the very creation of the universe India was united, it is united now and will remain united as a country. India is not a country by the mercy of Britishers.

Secondly, I shall speak about technology. The measurement of all the iron furnaces ranging from Tanjaur to Srinagar was the same. The axle of bullock carts all over India thousands of year back was of the same measurement. Therefore, to say that the unity of India was the gift of Britishers is not true. Do not believe the history written by Britishers specially Macanlay. Read the history written by R.C. Majumdar or Babu Bhai Nauroji. Why are you studying the borrowed knowledge. I would like to request Shri Ram Vilas Paswan to study the Indian literature only then he would be able to know the reason of India's poverty. India would have become poor because 80 thousand people. ... *(Interruptions)*

Let us see previous situation according to it during the British period when he was asked to look for bar iron for laying of rails, he replied that the bar iron in India was cheaper and of better quality. It is essential to set up the mill brought from Manchester. Therefore destroy this industry. In 1742, eighty thousand people used to work in the steel industry in India and produced steel four time of the total production of England for the entire Europe. Our steel technology is very old. The rustless iron pillar is still standing beside Qutub Minar. The Indian system never became the victim of rust nor it is at present and I hope, it would not get rust in the coming 10 thousand years. However the false propaganda is made against it and Britishers' opinion about this system. These are eternal systems which will always exist.

It is said about technology that Dr. Janer invented small pox vaccine in 1798, But Mr. Colt wrote to Dr. Oliver in—

[English]

"An account of the disease of Bengal, Calcutta, dated: February 10, 1731."

[Translation]

That in Bengal a vaccine is given for small pox in the same manner as invented by Dr. Janer. After which Dr. Janer prepared a vaccine from blister pus or cow pus which was utilised next year. It has been given in full detail in a medical journal and not in any article published in the newspaper. He has earned a lot of praise for it.

[English]

"Operation of inoculation of the small pox as performed in Bengal that is 1731."

[Translation]

He also states that this system has been in vague for the last 150–200 years. When ask, the villagers of Bengal and Orissa replied that the said system was provided to them by Dhanvantri who was the inventor of Ayurveda. He came out with the 'Amrit Kalash' from 'Amrit Manthan'. I was talking about. This was the Amrit Kalash which was provided to every village of India by Dhanvantri through which people can protect themselves from small pox and other diseases. The said nectar was distributed among the Gods—the Indians are like gods—Ram Vilas Paswan ji. Dhanwantri continued the distribution of nectar. Today, Ayurved has come in a position to distribute the nectar in the world. I can cite hundreds of examples, therefore, do not be concerned. It is said that the technology may be unsophisticated and crude but the satisfaction is that the technology will be your own but this technology is sophisticated one.

The hon. Textile Minister is not present here but can he tell about the count of yarn being produced in India and the thinnest yarn of the world. It is 400 count, 500 count, 600 count or 800 count? I could not see the yarn of 800 count but we generally hear about 400–500 count yarn. But the yarn in India used to be of 2425 count. Around 29 yard yarn could be prepared from one grain of cotton.

There are 7000 grains in a pound. Preparing 29 yard yarn out of one grain of cotton is an achievement and wonder. This was the famous malmal cloth and the thumb of weavers of this cloth was chopped off. India became poor for this reason. ...*(Interruptions)*. The yarn produced at Shantipur at present is of 250–300 count. India had to suffer loss in the field of agriculture, technology, pottery, ceramics and employment since millions of people were engaged in manufacturing malmal. Their hands were chopped off. I hoped that the paid technique of Murshidabad

and Dhaka would be restored in the fiftieth year of independence but the government seems to be interested in importing western know how. The Government wants to convince us that nothing is possible in India without western technology but I would like to draw its attention towards the statement of Director, CSIR in this regard —

[English]

I am quoting from a lecture delivered by Dr. R.A. Mashalkar, Director-General of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research on the 29th December, 1995 at Pune. Now, I quote:

"In the first instance, the technology game has become very complex. Technology will be available to Indian companies only if it fits in with the global scheme of a supplier. If Mark-III technology is available, then we might negotiate for Mark-II and in most cases, we may get Mark-I."

[Translation]

India can get the technology of first generation. They have developed the third generation technology. They will not negotiate about that but if you will negotiate for second generation and import the first generation technology.

[English]

And, I quote again:

"This is because India will be looked at, not as a bottomless pit of demand, but as a competitor in the global market. I remember that, when I was associated with the Indian Petrochemicals Corporation Limited a few years ago, we tried to get the alfa olefins technology from some European, US and Japanese companies. We did not succeed. Was alfa olefin strategic? It was not. After all, alfa olefin was going to be used for making sulfonates, which were mere detergents to be sold in the consumer market. There was nothing strategic about this material. But we still did not manage to get the technology. The reason was simple. With India's competitive advantage, it was felt that we will be competitors in the world market and technology was denied to us.

The technology game is already becoming very complex. The days of straight forward technology licencing are over. Technology-cum-product swap, technology-cum-stock holding, etc. are the new equations. Marketing territory restrictions are being put up. Even technology is being broken into pieces and each part is being made available separately. Straight forward technology services contracts are also becoming difficult to negotiate."

[Translation]

No country exports advance technology to any country.

I was recently out to attend a conference on Antarctica convened by United Nations Organisation. These questions were raised there. I ventilated my views on these issues. The representative of Tunisia stood and asked a question from the panel members of World Bank and IMF.

[Translation]

You had given an advice.

[English]

'You become a democracy and we became a democracy'.

[Translation]

You have given us advice.

[English]

"You promote human rights."

[Translation]

We promoted human rights. You had given us advice.

[English]

'You follow open market policies and we made ourselves an open market.'

[Translation]

You had promised.

[English]

You said, 'When you do all these three things, you will get investment, you will get technology and you will have employment.'

[Translation]

He said all these three things have been done. We are hoping for the years.

[English]

There is no investment; there is no technology and there is no employment.

[Translation]

No one would give you technology. I want to ask, that who have raised hopes as to where that technology has come. What technology came in Pepsi Cola, Lipstic, Biscuit and ice cream. The department of space had ordered to an American company for wheels for the tower made by the department. The American company had agreed to supply that you would not get wheels. It is a different thing that the Indian Scientists accepted that challenge and made better wheels. ...*(Interruptions)* You came with the same swadeshi feelings in Atomic Energy also. You would go ahead in space with this feeling.

You have also made progress in computer. Then the matter was raised that our indigenous technology had gone far ahead than foreign technology but we still advise that technology of west should be studied. I am glad that you showed that book which should have been shown to this. House. I wanted to point out this danger for the last five years, since the time when Hatitson wrote about it. But the matter has gone beyond the book. Now in the year 1997 I am drawing your attention to the Policy Magazine. What for you want to make use of technology and which technology do you want? Now they are saying.

[English]

American should not deny the fact that of all the nations in the world, theirs is the most just and the best model for the future.

[Translation]

And that model should be taken without any hesitation. Why do they say so?

[English]

The opportunity lies before us as Americans, the United States is in a position not only to lead in the 21st century as the dominant power of the information age, but to do so by breaking down the barriers that divide nations and groups within nations and by building ties that create an ever greater reservoir of shared interests among an ever larger community of peoples.

[Translation]

There are shared interests, what are those shared interests except that they have joint ventures or there are some bureaucrats who have to work in World bank or multinationals. What are those shared interests? Read this article or magzine fully. You would know as to what they want to say. What is there in their minds, because they say!

[English]

The current trends that fall under the broad definitional umbrella of globalisation are accelerating a process that has taken place throughout history and discreet groups have become familiar with one another, allied and combing up, ultimately becoming more alike.

More alike means, ultimately becoming more American like or more Western like.

Inevitably, the United States has taken a lead in this transformation. It is this indispensable nation in the management of global affairs and the leading producer of information technology and services in the early years of information age.

[Translation]

They said that we are the leaders of information age and that we have so much power, resources and technology power that we can control the whole world.

[English]

You must lead the world.

[Translation]

Make them as you are. They have said many interesting things. They have said that English should be spread throughout the world. If English is there then what is the difficulty?

[English]

It is in the general interest of the United States to encourage the development of a world in which the fault lines separating nations are bridged by shared interests and it is in the economic and political interests of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving towards a common language, it be English; that if the world is moving towards common telecommunications, safety, and quality standards, they be American; that if the world is becoming linked by television, radio and music, the programming be American; and that if common values are being developed, they be values with which Americans are comfortable This is the use of technology.

[Translation]

The technology which you want to bring in this country is the technology of exploitive system. I do not want to go in this philosophy due to lack of time. The indigenous

technology can develop on its own, it can defeat them. Mulayam Singh Yadav ji had said that English is the biggest obstacle in the development of Science and Technology through Indian languages. If Science and Technology is taught in our mother tongue, the scientists of this country would excel in the world and would make such technology which would not exploit the human beings but would give propitious technology to the country.

[English]

Technology with a human face.

[Translation]

SHRI SUKDEO PASWAN (Arariya) : It would be better if you stop citing from English Book.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : What are you saying? I have to cite, otherwise no one would listen.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We would listen. Such persons are present in the House.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I would be glad if they listen. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : The most surprising thing was that Vajpayeeji began by quoting Rajani Pant Datt, and Shri Joshi is referring to the books by P.C. Roy, and Debi Prasad Chattopadhyay. I am waiting to hear from that famous book 'End of History'. Are you going to mention that also?

[Translation]

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Your Marxist Government also listens and reads the books of those writers. ...*(Interruptions)* If you read Bankim Chattopadhayay and Rabinder Nath, the country would be uplifted a lot. If you read Vivekanand, Netaji Subhash, Swami Jitatama, Jagdish Chandra Bose. ...*(Interruptions)* You be quite assured. ...*(Interruptions)* It would take a lot of time for them to read Dr. Mukherjee. ...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, I say that the scientist of pre-independence era, were well-acquainted with the traditions of India. I want to give the only example in this regard. What was done by C.V. Raman later on, was dimension of his sight. What was done by Satyendra Nath Bose was also the extention of both sight. What was done by Satyendra Nath was very important. Jagdish Chandra Bose was the first among the Scientists, who proved that the thing which we call iranimate have life. Many people say that only men have soul and women and animals do not have soul. Many other scientists and Philosophers do not accept this view. It is said that there is nothing wrong in eating meat, because animals do no have soul. This is one theory. But Jagdish Chandra Bose proved that iron, bronze and other alloys also have life. He demonstrated his experiments in 1901.

[English]

> "In 1899 Bose began a comparative study of the non-living like metals and the animals. Experimentally he found that metals become less sensitive if continuously used, but return to normal after a period of rest. The discovery of the 'fatigue of metals' led Bose from the domain of physics to physiology. To the surprise of scientists, the boundary line between the so-called 'living' and 'non-living' became hard to ascertain. Physiologists listened with skepticism and doubts to Bose who demonstrated his experiments in the physics section of British Association at Bradford. Scientists saw with wonder the similar curves of muscles and metals, when they are responding to the effect of fatigue, stimulation, depression and poisonous drugs. Subsequently Bose found that plants also responded in the similar way like metals or muscles. In 1901, May 10, Bose demonstrated all his experiments in England, and concluded with the words. ..."

I will also conclude with the same words.

> "I have shown you this evening autographic records of the history of stress and strain in the living and non-living. How similar are the writings! So similar indeed that you cannot tell one apart from the other. Among such phenomena; how can we draw a line of demarcation and say, here the physical ends, and there the physiological begins? such absolute barriers do not exist. ...It was when I came upon the mute witness of these self made record, and perceived on them one phase of a pervading unity that bears within it all things. ..."

[Translation]

'Sarvamidam Khall Brahma'. Which means all the world is Brahma.

[English]

> "...—the mote that quivers in ripples of light, the teeming life upon our earth and the radiant suns that shine above us it was then that I understood for the first time a little of that message. ..."

Ram Vilasji, try to understand this message.

" ... proclaimed by my ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago. 'They who see but one, in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs Eternal Truth—unto none else, unto none else." the discovery of eternal truth.

[English]

So, the discovery of eternal truth—

[Translation]

The objective of Science and Technology in India should be discovery of eternal truth. Propogating eternal truth for the welfare of entire world should be the motto of our parliament and bureaucrats who deal with science related departments. This Parliament should make efforts to free the slow moving Scientific and research process to India from the clutches of western institutions and technology. It should also free the talent and skill of India from the clutches of western mentality. If we have to start another war of independence, for which our Hon'ble Speaker has given a call, there is absolute need to free our science and technology from western impact.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Thank you Joshi ji. This maiden speech on Science and Technology is superb.

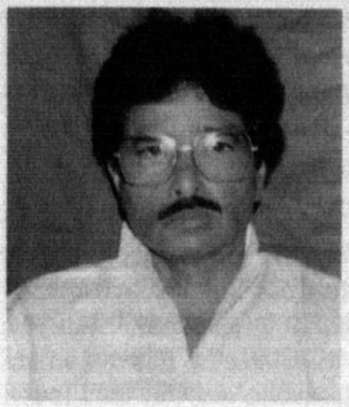
SHRIMATI SARADA TADIPARTHI

*SHRIMATI SARADA TADIPARTHI (Tenali) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation once observed that India would be considered free only that day when a woman can walk wearing all her jewels freely and fearlessly on the streets during the midnight. Do we see any such day today? Have we, the women of the country, become really independent? Have we, the women of the country got liberated from the age old bondage? Is there any liberation for those hapless young girls who are being subjected to dowry deaths day in the day out? Can we call our society which resorts to female infanticide and even foeticide for fear of avoiding the liability in the form of expenditure on the marriages of their daughters to be a free society? No, none of them has tasted any freedom so far. Anti-social elements like goondas and rowdies have got absolute freedom. Freedom is also for those who for their selfishness are exploiting the society in the name of religion, caste and community. Freedom is meant for only those monsters who indulge in gang rapes. Sir, for the past 3 days we have been hearing the eminent speakers expressing their concern and anguish over ever deteriorating situation in the country during the past five decades of free and independent India. They were trying to find out who are the persons and what are the reasons which are responsible for taking the country to a state of crisis? Before independence we were blaming the foreign rulers for all our ills. But today? Whom should we blame? When we find, that in fact we, we alone, and none else, are responsible for this all-around decay that has set in our society, we have to hang our heads in shame. We can not afford the luxury of slinging the mud on anyone else. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I do not want to go into details as much ground has already been covered. I will confine my speech only to the problems pertaining to women in the country. Our scriptures eulogise women. Eloquent speeches are made day in and day out, that too with much fanfare, praising and highlighting the nobility of women. And we cannot miss even that bit of sarcasm when husbands introduce their wives as their 'Home Minister'. Sometimes, we also borrow that of repeated expression that 'She is my better half'. But what is the reality? Where is "she" better and how is "she" better? She is "better" only outside. The moment "she" crosses the threshold and enters her house, everything will be 'bitter'. If anyone dares to challenge the set up, pat comes the reply from men, "It is your fate. what can we do? Everything has been clearly mentioned in the Shastras. We are only following the age old customs." And, what is more, there is that Shloka, which speaks the six fold ordined duties of every housewife. according to the Shloka a good housewife is she, who serves her husband like a dasi, tenders advise like a Minister, showers affection like a mother and satisfies his carnal desires like Rambha, whose tolerance equals that of mother earth. Unless women possesses all these qualities she cannot be termed as housewife or 'Kuladharmapatni'. These very Shastras speak about the conduct of men, describing Lord Rama as the ideal figure. How come that they are not following these very Shastras when it comes to their conduct? How come

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Telugu.

they scrupulously follow the concretised rules of Shastras only in the case of women. Sir, those Shastras or the scriptures are the creations and the formulations of a male dominated society. It is absurd even to think that the women of 1997, present generation, should adhere to those obsolete writtings. It is really very strange and inhuman to find a woman by compulsions, domestic or otherwise, works in office and other places, earns money, extends financial support to her husband, has no liberty or freedom to purchase a saree out of her own earnings. She has no freedom to buy flowers for her. I fail to understand when this drudgery of our womenfolk will come to an end. Sir, let this society not forget those days of our freedom struggle when our women marched shoulder to shoulder alongwith the men for liberation of the country from the foreign domination. The country should ever remember their great sacrifices. Sir, recently a boy happened to kiss a girl in broad day light in Andhra Pradesh. The moment our Hon. Chief Minister, Shri Chandrababu Naidu came to know about the incident, he not only caught hold of that boy but also made him receive a slap publicly by the very girl whom he had kissed. In Kerala, one Hon. Minister had to lose his job for marrying his daughter off who was short of just one day for 18 years. The law has to be enforced that strictly. Unless the Government makes the laws more stringent and implements them strictly, the young women of the country cannot feel safe and secure. If any innocent girl is subjected to gang rape, instead of taking action against the culprits, the concerned officials will come out with tapes to measure the injury inflicted on the innocent victim. She is forced to exhibit her injuries. A sure way to rub salt on the wound! They do so because they have to close the files, for, the sons of rich people, top officials and other influential sections are involved. Hence ways have to be devised by the concerned officials for setting these boys free. The cases are hushed up. Every man expects his wife to be chaste and noble. He should have the same level of respect for other women also. Men should learn to treat other women as their own sisters and extend respect and courtesy to them. Only then, the women in the country can think that they are really independent and free. The Government should initiate steps to provide reservations in educational institutions and also employment to enable them to stand on their own legs and if required, to look after her dependents also. The Government should also take action to provide 33 per cent reservation for women. Then, I am confident, Sir, that there will emerge not one but many Jhansi Ranis from society. Sir, in United States, it is mentioned on the passport of every citizen that if their citizens are subjected to any hardship in any other country, the US Government would initiate action against that country. So much secure are the citizens of US. How about us? What action has been taken by our Government to make our citizens secure? Undoubtedly none. Sir, parents want their daughters to be happy. That is why spending all their earnings, they find a match from England or US for their daughter. But what happens? It is said that distant mountains are smooth. But in reality they are not. These girls who are married to the boys settled in England and America are subjected to tortures. Life becomes hell for them. They are being burnt alive. They are tortured. The lucky ones escape and survive. For the rest, that is their doomsday. Similarly many people prefer employment in the gulf. many people in the country think that employment in Gulf would fetch them enough money so that they can look after their family well. These gulf job seekers pay huge sums even disposing off their property to the agents who promise them heavens. But the moment they land in gulf, they get a different job with a different emolument. They are being cheated. Their passports are seized. Women job seekers are subjected to torture and humiliation. They are beaten and arrested in some cases. Is there anyone who is concerned about their plight? Young girls of the age of 9 and 10 years are being married off to 65 to 70 year old men. Is there anybody who cares to shed a tear for these girls of such tender age? Is there anybody who is interested in the plight of women prisoners? Sir, I fervently appeal to this Government to show some concern for these helpless people and take action to redress their grievances. Sir, we, in this august House may belong to various political parties. There might be many differences in our ideology. But in our heart of hearts all of us, without any exception, want that the country should progress and prosper. That our people should be happy and secure. Everyone of us wants that the women in the country should be happy and secure. Similarly, I also wish that unitedly we take this XI Lok Sabha to the next year also. I want that another special session should be held next year. Thee, in that session, I want to hear from the same leaders who had given a vent to their frustration and anger now, at the failures of the past, would address the house expressing their happiness for reversing the trend and taking the country towards a bright future, wherein all would feel happy and secure, where women feel that they are no more insecure and justice would be meted out to them and where children feel that a bright future awaits them. I am of the firm conviction that such a golden day would certainly dawn, and the song "Saare jahan se achha, hindustan hamara" would be really meaningful.

Sir, thanking you for the opportunity provided to me to speak, I conclude my speech.



SHRI S. BANGARAPPA

[English]

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA (Shimoga) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank the Hon. Speaker and all the leaders of various political parties and leaders of this House for having made this much of time available to us to enable us to discuss a very basic and important issue which is racking the brain of not only the common man but also the intellectuals of our great society.

We feel proud that we are part and parcel of this whole nation though basically there are divergent issues like castes, creeds, religions and languages. Geographically, India is a very great and a huge country. Naturally, diversities are the basic differences that one sees in our country. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please take your seats. Let the hon. Member speak.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : we see lot of difference in the very basic structure of our society when compared to the societies of several other countries which have geographical contiguity with our country. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please maintain the decorum of the House. Please do not indulge in any side talks.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Therefore, I feel that if we want to achieve the unity and integrity of this country, whatever may be the diversities that we have in our society, we must certainly be capable of uniting the cross-section of our society.

Our forefathers involved themselves in the freedom struggle under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Abul Kalam Azad and many other stalwarts. Millions of people followed them and laid down their lives and they sacrificed their families for the good of the society and for the future of our country.

What is the issue now on hand? It is better I read this motion.

"That this House do consider the state of our democracy and democratic institutions, the economic situation, the position of infrastructure, achievements and potential in the field of science and technology and the state of human development in the country."

Yes, we did achieve our Independence on 14–15th of August, 1947 and we have made our country republic with effect from 26th of January, 1950, though some portions, after deliberations in the Constituent Assembly, were given effect to before 26th of January, 1950. After becoming a republic country, we started establishing our Election Commission, making so many laws well within the parameters of our Constitution. Our country is not a small one. Though it has got a complexion of various diversities, our forefathers thought it fit to imbibe into the Constitution so many aspects of our society to reflect various expectations and aspirations of our society. The agenda on our hand is where exactly we stand in respect of our democracy and democratic institutions. What are the institutions that we have got. We have go both the Houses of parliament, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Down below at the State level, wherever there is a bicameral system, there are both the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. If there is a unicameral system, they have got the Legislative Assembly.

Then, there is also Panchayati Raj system. In the name of decentralisation of power, we have given lot of powers to the basic institution also, what we call Gram Panchayat. If you want to make the democratic institutions strong, we have to make the people aware that they have got the right to get basic education or literacy and it is at their command. We have to involve the people at the lower strata of society to make used of these things that are proposed in our basic institutions.

What are the achievements made? I have got my own doubt about them. If you just look at the achievements made during the last 50 years, I am very sad to say that what our forefathers thought of to achieve, we have not been able to achieve even after 45 years. In order to make the democratic institutions strong, we saw the Government in action under the great leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, thereafter so many leaders who took over the administration of this country. That was the time when a single Party used to have a clear mandate with a majority. They used to give a stable government at least for a full term of five years. Gone are the days now. The moment we feel that there is a cluster of political parties who are capable of forming the Government, we call it the coalition government. I am not referring to this Government only. we have reached a stage where a single Party having majority would be a thing of the past. In the present situation, no government can be formed by a single party all alone. If you cannot run the show of administration for a full term of five years, at least in the name of coalition of three or four political parties or five or six political parties, you should be able to give a stability. I am sorry to say that we cannot complete even full five years' term. What kind of stable government can we give to the society?

13.00 hrs.

Though we call it an era of coalition Governments, I am sorry to say that it goes against the very principles of giving a stable Government to our society. But whether we like it or not we are now pushed through this state of affairs in the country's politics that an era of coalition Government is a must. I call it a transition period wherein this kind of Government has been there now. But it is not a wanting thing for the people of this country, but it is give by the people. We cannot blame the people also. After all, who have the verdict in the last election. It is the people. It is their right to vote for anyone. We cannot blame the people as to why they have not given a clear cut mandate or majority to a single party. I leave this matter at that. But the people will have to educate themselves, they will have to think of it while exercising their vote to give a clear majority to a single party so as to give a stable Government to the country. But while doing so, they will have to keep in mind the political party that got a firm faith in the basic democratic values, secularism, socialism and which is cutting across cross sections of the society. They will have to think of the betterment of the country.

This country, as has been well described by so many hon. Members of this august House, this society is not a small society. This has got a great history in relation to several fields. This country has got lot of potential in our society which we can make use for the better future of our country.

Now, in this connection, the economic situation is their, for instance, infrastructure is there for achievements and potentials in science and technology and the state of human development in the country. I do not think, within a span of time, we can devote our attention and then discuss this matter in detail.

Let me now dwell upon one basic structure of the Constitution. In the very Preamble, we have written that we are a democratic sovereign republic. I draw your kind attention to the word implied that we are sovereign. If we just refer to the debates of the Constituent Assembly, a lot of light is thrown on the debate. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar once said in the debate that our country was going to become a Sovereign Democratic Republic. Where from are we going to get this sovereignty for our country? He says, 'when we are going to get this sovereignty, there must be someone who is in person to give it.' Then who is that person? It is the people of this country who sacrificed themselves for this nation under the leadership of *Pujya* Mahatama Gandhi and others to get independence for the country.

Therefore, I would say that we did not become automatically a Sovereign Democratic Republic but we got our sovereignty derived straight from the people of our country. Our people are sovereign as per the debates of the Constituent Assembly. Therefore, if we say that we are the masters, then it is not correct. People are the masters of our society. We call ourselves as public servants, if we are the public servants then we are the servants and there must be one master. Now, who is that master in a democratic society? It is only the people. It has now become vice-versa.

I am sorry to say that the servants have become the masters and the masters who are the great people of this great society have now completely become the servants of their own servants. Can this happen in a society? Can you accept this theory?

When we got our Independence in 1947, the literacy percentage was about 18 per cent of this country.

What is the share now? During the course of the last 50 years, I am sorry to say that we have failed in achieving the goal of giving literacy to the needy people of our society and making them just educated or so as to understand what exactly are the parameters of our political life, social life, social status, and of giving social justice to the needy people of our society. This is not a small subject. Therefore, it requires a lot of time. lot of energy and concentration to dwell upon this subject. During this short span of time, I do not think I can do justice, nor can my friends also, by throwing lot of light on the subject.

The geographical condition of our country is very important. I have already said at the outset that divergent views are there in our society. Still, we have achieved a lot of things in our society. We have got our Independence through non-violent *Satyagraha*. Millions and millions of people at that time were influenced to participate in the freedom struggle to give us this great democracy. Now, it has just become a machine to capture power. This kind of a thing will not help us. We should not make use of our potential of politics as a movement to capture power. We are sorry to say that we have reached a stage where it is better if we have a rethinking on the basic approach to all the basic problems, and the sacrifices of the millions and millions of people should not be set aside by overlooking the importance of the sacrifice made by such kind of people who participated in the freedom struggle.

What is the structure of our Constitution? we have got Fundamental Rights. But to what extent have we implemented them? Does the common man understand and make use of these Fundamental Rights? The Directive Principles of the State policy are there. To what extent have we thought of implementing these Directive Principles of the State Policy? There are the Legislatures and Parliament. Through we should thank our predecessors, still we are sorry to say that the standard of deliberations that we see, including in our own House here, is not up to the mark. We have to see where we have gone wrong by sitting across a table, by putting our heads together. Then, we should deliberate and come to a definite conclusion about how to raise the level of debates not only at the level of the Parliament but also at the level of the State Legislatures.

13.08 hrs.

[SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA *in the Chair*]

Then, I would say that an independent judiciary is a must in a democratic society. We will have to have a complete control over the Executive also. Regarding criminalisation of politics, we are very sorry to say that we hate and oppose criminalisation of politics. But there are some people who while they were in power, in order to meet their political ends, misused the power. I do not want to quote anybody's name here. They have misused their powers. This should not happen. If they do that, it goes against the very basic principles for which we fought for our Independence.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : I am concluding within a few minutes.

In spite of all these things, we are happy to say that we are living in a great democracy. Our country is not a small democratic country. Actually, at the global level of politics, people discuss at the international conferences that India is not a small country. It is a great democracy. Actually, the experiment that is going on here is the best and the biggest experiment. Now, we should not lose sight of the importance of the system of democracy. We may disagree with the internal system, but we will have to have a firm faith in our basic democratic approach also. While discussing some of these matters, I am now suggesting certain matters giving certain suggestions for the consideration of this House through a resolution.

Sir, we have seen this system of Government and we have seen great leaders leading our country. But of late, again and again it is coming to my mind that the absence of good leadership for a country like ours is the root-cause for all these things. Nobody is there virtually to lead this country. I should say this in all respect. If a person occupies a seat of power, yes, he is the leader for the time being and unless he proves beyond any reasonable doubt that he can lead the country, even without that power we should not accept that kind of leadership even if it is for the time being. But it should not be there for all time to come.

Sir, I am now drawing the attention of the house to the fact that we have seen several democratic countries in global politics. We have seen the American system, the French system and the Indian system. After seeing all these kinds of Governments for the past 50 years, I am now proposing that we should better go in for a Presidential form of Government wherein we can think of having a better leadership, an acceptable leadership who can lead the country and where we can fix up accountability on that kind of leadership.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Bangarappa, please wind up.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Sir, I will wind up within a few minutes.

Sir, here in the absence of good leadership we cannot fix up accountability also. That is why, I am proposing that we should have the Presidential from the Government which is the best form of Government. Then, we should minimise the number of political parties in our system. Let us discuss all these things through Resolutions here. A lot of political parties are coming up these days. I am not trying to find fault with all these things. But let us put across our heads together, hold a debate at the national level and then come to the conclusion as to how to minimise the number of political parties, by bringing certain amendments to our existing Constitution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Bangarappa, you have already spoken for 20 minutes. please conclude and take your seat now.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Sir, I am concluding within a few minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No; Please conclude within a minute.

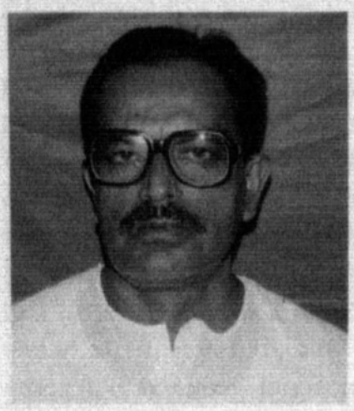
SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Sir, I do not want to elaborate further. I am not in the habit of speaking for a long time. I am speaking on this subject for the first time after becoming a Member of Parliament of this august House.

Sir, I would like to say a few words about the growth of population. Religion is obstructing our efforts to curb the growth of population. After all, religion is there to help the country. The political parties are also there to help the country. Religion is not there for the sake of a political party or a religion. It is there to help all the people of this country. Therefore, all the religious heads and the heads of all political parties must come together, hold a discussion at the national level, come to an understanding and bring about certain amendments to the Constitution, so as to minimise or arrest the growth of population.

Sir, I would like to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru here as far as leadership is concerned and conclude my speech. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

> "Fortune goes to those who dare and act and seldom goes to timids."

A timid leadership can never lead the country. Our India is to be led by us, it should not be led by others and for that we need good leadership. Therefore, this is not the country which is meant for timid leadership, but this is the country which is meant for good leadership and I find that leadership in the Presidential from of Government.



SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barrackpore) : Sir, we had our tryst with destiny on the 15th August, 1947.

[Translation]

50 years have passed by. We have witnessed so many things. A decision was taken to govern this country through democracy.

[English]

We were after parliamentary democracy, federal and democratic polity in social life.

[Translation]

We have experienced so many ups and downs. When the ruling party at the Centre did not like a particular State Government, it was toppled and as a result of which the people felt offended. Agitations and movements were launched by the people against such decisions and we witnessed the formation of a one party's Government at the Centre and the formation of other parties Governments in the State and the people reacted to it in the manner.

[English]

The ruling parties and the ruling classes wanted a one party or monopolyrule throughout the country.

[Translation]

The people did not accept this tendency. This is a contradiction, a class struggle between the rulers and the people. This is republic democracy.

[English]

A bourgeois concept of democracy.

[Translation]

was running in our country. The masses launched struggle time and again against the Government supported by the capitalists and the result is before us. During this struggle, we saw that democracy was being hit. In 1966, the Governments of various political parties were formed in different States. Then an idea was floated that Government of the same ruling party both at the Centre and in the States would function better and deliver goods in better way. But there were no taker of this idea. It was recognised some time but later it was outrightly rejected. We experienced that democracy was being hit constantly. Particularly the communists declared in the entire country that the way the Government was being run it would lead to dictatorship.

[English]

It was a serious class struggle that was going on throughout the country.

[Translation]

In some States, it lacks direction, but the big political parties have failed to give direction to it. However, people of Bengal and Kerala went quick ahead in this direction. Revolutionary land reforms have been carried out in the backdrop of farmer and workers movements. Popular Government of big parties were formed there. However, this issue is not included in the priorities now. The caste and communal strifes are not more in the priorities. Today the issue of caste has been raised in this House effectively. The issues of communalism and democracy have also been raised in an equally effective manner. We have to struggle hard to solve all these problems. If the struggle would be between castes and religions, then this country would disintegrate.

National industry was set up to promote capitalism in the country and steel plants and heavy industries were set up in the country.

[English]

At that time, the Indian capitalists were not ready to undertake all these programmes.

[Translation]

As I mentioned earlier, State capitalism helps one capitalist and I would like to repeat this point again. The plans we formulated the industries we set up and all other

things we created, promoted the capitalists in the country. Had they been responsible then, the things would not have deteriorated to this extent. We know that profit factor dominates their minds more than anything else and they do not take care of national interests. We knew it yesterday and know it today as well. If we are not able to tell these facts in the whole country then disparities and several other problems will crop up. What is happening today?

The public sector which had been operating with the support of capitalists so far earned profit.

[English]

Social, political and economic management of the country is totally illusive. They could not set the direction of the country.

[Translation]

Today is the ripe time to set the direction for the country. Coal India, Steel Authority and one big industries are termed as inefficient. Leadership should make efforts to bring efficiency. Why did it become inefficient and who made it inefficient? Did God or workers or people made it so? Infact, it was made inefficient by those who operated it. Where is accountability? All the leaders who ruled all these years are sitting here in this House. They are delivering good speeches for hours together. If they had paid attention to those points which were mentioned in the speeches then, it would have done good to the nation. I know that taking loans from here and there would not serve any purpose. What is needed is to create awareness among the people. It is truely a republican idea and with its success the problems of people will be solved. Today you can see that the appointment of India's representative in the Maruti Ltd. had angered the Suzuki Company. This had to happen. This is single example and many more such things will happen in our country. Foreign direct investment is being talked about but where is direct investment.

[English]

They all are trying to grab the Indian Institutions already built up. They are trying to take over silently the entire industrial set up of our country.

[Translation]

Efficiency is also being talked about. If it becomes efficient then would you export the share of Government's job from the foreign country. This sounds most irresponsible. The need of the hour is to pay attention for providing full employment.

[English]

The employment will generate the internal market and the internal market will be boost up for international trading.

[Translation]

We cannot go in trading for want of our own market. All theoretical facts being mentioned are wrong.

[English]

We can not allow one country to see dumping ground of the obsolete technology and the models of the foreign cars.

[Translation]

Britishers had already quited.

[English]

It is 17 per cent in 50 years. For every five years, on an average, it is 1.7 per cent.

[Translation]

Motor industry was promoted and people were associated with it. They all are operating. Operating I do not mean political leadership. In fact it means that the lion's share is that of bureaucracy which got outside links. Road space has not been provided instead of railways development. It used to take 4 days to reach Calcutta from Delhi by truck, now it takes 12 days.

[English]

What is the turnover?

[Translation]

What kind of economic management they have learnt or they are teaching. It now takes 12 days in comparison to 4 days in old days and turnover has also been reduced. The development of railways has not taken place. Where have they taken the country to? There would have been three fold development in these 50 years and had it been so, how many people would have been required for maintenance purpose of railway tracks.

[English]

It would have been a very much labour intensive work which could generate a very good market in the rural India.

[Translation]

This does not mean we do not need foreign technology. What is computer technology in India? Whatever you speak is now history. Issac Newton did it in 1642 in England.

No scientific progress was made in our country during the Mughal Period. This must be understood. There had been moments when there are some disturbances but we would march forward. There had been ups and downs in our History. My submission is that we should make progress in the field of industry.

Nobody is saying that nothing has been done during the last 50 years in our country. This much would have been done if anyone have been in power. What has happened? Is Indonesia more developed than our country?

[English]

Our agricultural production i.e. productivity is 60 per cent of that of Indonesia.

[Translation]

Would we remain behind Indonesia?

[English]

It is 60 per cent of what Indonesia has.

[Translation]

Therefore, my submission is that our land can still produce 2–3 times more. If science and technology are applied in our society, the wrong thinking about religion would go away to some extent. We will have to make such schemes which would help us to utilise science and technology in a proper way. No country imports knowledge.

[English]

Knowledge is a property of the mankind. Now there is a concept that knowledge has to be sold. Knowledge has to be stored and knowledge has to be sold at high prices. From this concept the patent regime has come and we have surrendered to that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please try to conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR : This thinking is leading our country towards the wrong direction. It is alright that we will have to acquire knowledge. Technological head will also have to be brought. Nobody can say that our scientists are not capable.

[English]

"They are very much capable scientists and they are the leading scientists even in the Silicon Valley. But that does not mean that we have developed that technology, that does not mean that we have acquired that science, discovered that science and brought that science into harness. That does not mean that at all."

[Translation]

Today, we have the international knowledge. The communists give the slogan of internationalism. We are not afraid of it. What is being said.

[English]

Capital has got no national boundary.

[Translation]

We accept it and so does the protagonists of the country.

[English]

Capital has got no national boundary. If capital has got no national boundary, then what is the use of CTBT, what is the use of NPT? What are all these things going on? Why is the Defence arsenal being built up like this in all the countries? If capital has no national boundary, then why do you say that this is foreign capital, this is Indian capital, this is European capital and this is American capital?

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is likely to be over. Please conclude.

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR : I am concluding. Today, our country requires a large scale movement and struggle to go ahead.

[English]

In the background of this movement of the people who have already safeguarded our democracy, restored democracy and brought about a system where democracy can be protected by multi party coalition Government, some people say that this is a temporary phenomenon.

I do not say that this is a temporary phenomenon. It is a permanent phenomenon.

[Translation]

The Communists had remained united for 52 years. We have formed an all party Government even after having two third support.

[English]

This is the concept to which we are committed.

[Translation]

A party thinks over its helplessness and decide to rule on half yearly basis. My submission is that it is not the compulsion. It should be taken into account that the people of our country want coalition Governments. All parties should think on the same line, then the democracy would be safeguarded in the multi-party system.

[English]

In the background of the people's movement which is to be unleashed, this democratic system will address itself to the people and the people will establish a hegemony over the Indian polity.

13.36 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Thirty-Five Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

14.45 hrs.

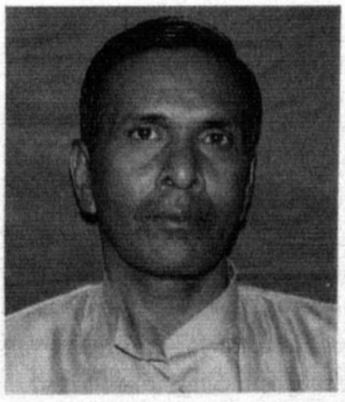
The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at Forty Five Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[COL. RAO RAM SINGH *in the Chair*]

MOTION RE : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS, AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY— *Contd.*

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are requested to be careful about time. I cannot interrupt the hon. Ministers but many hon. Members would like to speak and today hon. Speaker has ordered that more and more hon. Members should be given an opportunity to speak.



SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Speaker prior to me is absent so I should be given his time also. First of all, I would like to thank the hon. Speaker, through you who has convened this session to make discussions on the occasion of the golden jubilee celebration. Definitely, our discussion is heading towards positive aspects and the attention of our hon. Members has been drawn towards achieving the aims of our parliamentary democracy and freedom. Certainly, when it would have impact on us, it would have its impact on the country as well.

Sir, it is our prime duty to bow our heads in memory of those who laid their lives, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhiji for the freedom of the country. We should ponder over as to what extent we have been successful in achieving the aims of freedom. Certainly, our achievements are marvellous.

Only person suffering from inferiority complex can say that we have not made any achievement during the last 50 years. No doubt, we have made great achievement during these 50 years, but we have problems before us which need our attention and solution thereof. The freedom struggle was fought under the leadership of Gandhiji, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and many other leaders not only for the freedom of casting votes but for social and economic freedom also. The political freedom was just a means through which social and economic freedom was to be attained. Today, this debate can be made more meaningful if we give due consideration to those achievements. We have to think whether the gap between the rich and the poor or common man has increased or decreased. To bridge the gap between the rich and the poor was the goal of our Independence. We have to think also whether the caste based inequality in the society has increased or decreased or it has reached the state of equilibrium. If we succeed to give this debate a meaningful shape by taking these objectives into consideration this session will not only be an historical one but it would add to the importance of Golden Jubilee of Independence.

Sir, our learned leaders have delivered philosophical, literary and scientific speeches here, but only Mulayam Singhji has touched upon ground realities which depicts a picture of the problems of the entire country.

Sir, what is happening today? Is our technology proving a hurdle? We can also hold debate on the technology and its utility but it will consume more time. Today, 52 per cent population of the country is living below the poverty line. What is the Government doing for them. Half of the 52 per cent people are leading their lives on 5 rupees and some only on Rs. 3 per day. What benefit have they got from freedom? How much we are concerned for them? Even if a farmer is able to build a pucca room by working hard during the 50 years of independence, he is unable to get it plastered in another 10 years. The Constitutional commitment has weakened. A strong will power is required to be shown towards this. A pledge was taken in the Constitution to make education compulsory, but it has not been implemented during the last 50 years. The countries where people are educated are comparatively rich and the average age of the people of these countries has increased. The life expectancy of the people of our country has also increased and the nation has become more prosperous

and richer but there has been no proper distribution of wealth in our country. That is why, 52 per cent people are compelled to live below poverty line. Our country is an agricultural country and the number of farmers is more. We ask the farmers to vote for us and even compared them to God. But what facilities we have provided to them during the last 50 years? Today, if this God produces sugarcane, the owners of the sugar mills do not make reasonable payment for their crop. If he produces potato, it is not kept in the cold storage. He does not get remunerative prices for other produces also. The crop insurance scheme has not been implemented honestly and effectively so far. Even the 'Jhonpari' insurance scheme has not been implemented in an effective manner so far. As a result of which the number of people living below the poverty line has been increasing. We should evolve a consensus for implementing Constitutional commitment towards education. Some proposals in this regard have been tabled by some great leaders. But I have been watching for the last three days that the debate is gradually moving toward the concept of 'March towards villages' and Gandhian philosophy.

We do not lack anything in our country. But where have we reached during the last 50 years? Gandhiji had not only fought the freedom struggle but he had also fought against social evils and communal forces. We make glib speeches and give reply to any question, but is it not a fact that our country is falling prey to the forces of communalism? Gandhiji was snatched from us by communal forces. We wanted him to be alive upto the age of 125 years. About communalism he had stated that he did not want to live a minute more with it. He lost his life due to communalism. When the first anniversary of Indian Independence was being celebrated from the ramparts of the Red Fort in Delhi, Gandhiji was in Noakhali. From there, he had announced that he would go to Lahore first, since he wanted to spread the message of love. Why are people not speaking that kind of language today? Why is the country being divided on the basis of castes and community today? Communalism had eaten into the vitals of our freedom in the very beginning itself. Casteism in not so dangerous. Though some people are being branded as casteists but casteism is not so dangerous. It seems that casteism in the society in marking a demand for its due share in country's politics but communalism has disintegrated the country and if it is encouraged, it is likely to disintegrate the country once again. Communalism is the greatest enemy of the country and the Gandhian thought. When we try to link communalism with politics, we forget the sacrifices made by own great leaders to unite all sections of the society. What were the feelings that these leaders had aroused in them that they willingly went to the gallows and the feelings of caste or community never struck in their mind. Ashfaq Ullah Khan and Pt. Ram Prasad Bismil hailing from Uttar Pradesh had received the capital punishment. They were residents of Shajahanpur. They had received the capital punishment in Kakori case. Britishers wanted to sow the seeds of discord between Ashfaq Ullah Khan and Pt. Ram Prasad Bismil in the name of Hindu and Muslim. They asked Ashfaq not to cooperate as Pandit Bismil wanted to free the country so that it might become a Hindu country after independence. Ashfaq Ullah Khan in his crisp reply stated that at first, what the Britishers were stating could not be true and even if at all that became true, the Hindu state of Pt. Ram Prasad Bismil would be better than theirs and therefore, the country should be independent and the Britishers must quit the country. Today, people forget the sacrifices made by such Muslim leaders and make glib speeches but spread of communalism. Sir, I am sorry to say that our senior leaders are not present in the House to listen to the speeches of junior leaders like us. They should be present here when a historical debate goes on.

Sir, while speaking in the morning, Joshiji was right when gave thrust on 'Swadeshi' and stated that cottage industry was our cultural heritage. The Britishers ruled over this country and tried to destroy all the cottage industries of the country. They had come to loot this country. They chopped off the thumbs of the weavers of famous 'Dhaka Malmal'. Who showed the way to Britishers to chop of their thumbs? Joshiji should have expressed his concern on this aspect also. The Britishers had not brought with them the tradition of chopping off a thumb; it originated here only. Why was the thumb of Eklavya chopped off? Joshiji should have shown his concern and condemned such act. A partisan view will not do. Gandhiji fought against the class system in the society. We as well as our party also do not believe in it. Our leader also demanded yesterday that forward castes should also be given 10 per cent reservation. We want to embrace Gandhian philosophy with open mind but why they want to use the ambiguous language? When ever the dalit or backward caste people try to reach the top, the caste-based society tries to create all kind of obstacles in his way. We will have to admit it honestly that things cannot change unless and until a new vigour is introduced in the masses. A message has to go among the masses and messages should be given by such leaders. It is not that. I am appreciating Shri Mulayam Singh Yadavji. He risked his life. I was number two in the Cabinet and was there in the meeting on 30th October, 1990 knowing fully well that after that it would be very difficult to go to the villages and cities. This is quite easy to do politics and solicit votes in elections by arousing the feelings of the majority community of the society. The boldness lies in taking a stand at the risk of Chair and even life. Who has been taking the risk? Who has been getting the thumb cut? Who has been producing foodgrains and supplying the raw material to the factories? But who has been the master in the country?

15.00 hrs.

These people have been taking risks and all doing so in the politics as well. Therefore, what is needed is to induce a new vigour in the society. This ongoing debate will not go in vain rather it will send across a message in the entire country creating a new vigour in the society. Gandhiji dream of 'gram swaraj' will be translated into reality. Which technology are we talking about these days? Infact, we sitting in this Central Hall and lobbies make fun of the poor people. Gandhiji had said that those in the power should always keep in their mind the poor and poverty in the society as it would hold them on to the right track. But today, all politics is done keeping in view the forward caste people in the mind. Therefore, 52 per cent of our population is living below the poverty line. It is quite unfortunate that in the 50th year of our Independence more than half of our population is living below the poverty line. We have the largest number of blind people and T.B. patients and on the contrary a new rich class is coming up in one society. Why is this disparity in our society? Socialism and secularism are the part of the preamble of our Constitution. The country which does not implement its Constitution in letter and spirit, can never march ahead on the path of development and progress. Today we must contemplate on it in this House that whether those sitting in this House, follow the concept of socialism and secularism sincerely. Whether they implement secularism in this House on language in their constituencies and their own houses. This is constitutional obligation. No one has got the right to violate this obligation and if anyone dares so, legal action is taken against him.

Even after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi the Parliament of India has not made any law to ban such organisations. This law should have been made then only. Those who tried to cause a divide in our freedom and alienated our forefathers should not be allowed to carry out any social and political activity in the country.

Sir, we are not using the political language. This is our own pain. We are also the son of that father who spinned the yarn on the 'charakha' and supplied the same to Gandhi Ashram and wore the cloth received from the Ashram in exchange. Therefore, it pains us. What a life it was and what a time it is? Those who could not dare enter the villages after the death of Gandhiji, are planning to form the government. ...*(Interruptions).* If you are admitting it than it is like the guilty conscience needs no accuser. I am not naming anyone nor is there any need to name any particular party. This is historic session of Parliament. If only needs introspection and if any mistake has been committed it should be rectified. We say those responsible for the death of Gandhiji can think to form the Government then there can not be two opinions that such people should never think to make the Government. I am not naming any one. A person like Gandhi takes birth in centuries. It is a matter of great pride that Gandhiji was born in India. There is hardly any country in the world which does not have any souvenir of Gandhiji. You take the example of Martin Luther King. He said that when they go to other countries, they go as tourists and when they go to India, they go as pilgrims. That is so because India is country of Gandhi. We must be proud of him. If someone speaks against Gandhi for political reasons than it is quite shameful for the nation.

Some very good suggestions mooted in this specially convened session of Parliament and will motivate the future generation. The history being distorted today will also go down in their memory.

Gandhiji was quite worried of partition. ...*(Interruptions).* We will accuse the then Congress people of having committed this mistake. Gandhiji has said that the Congress had got a great history. They should form new political party and may also for a Lok Sevak Sangh for social work. The Congress people did not agree to him. Had they agreed to his suggestion, they would not have been in the lurch today. The Congress would have still retained its great history. If somebody criticises pre-1947 Congress party then, it pains us and if somebody appreciates post 1947 Congress party then we cannot subscribe to it. Gandhiji's suggestion was not acceded to. Dr. Lohia too made efforts. People worries that the country was divided. Gandhiji was against the partition. But if such people try to bring in caste and religious factor then it should be excluded. The staunch supporters of Gandhiji in those times includes a Muslim also Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Shri Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan vehemently opposed partition. If somebody really manifested that very idea of Mahatma Gandhi it was Dr. Lohia. After partition he advocated the formation of India-Pakistan confederation which the Samajwadi party has all along been advocating and with the formation of India-Pakistan confederation we can become a big power. Today scientists of the world makes this opinion. What have we not got? Corruption and dishonesty has increased a little bit which needs to be checked. Poor's money is deposited in Delhi's coffer. Shri Rajiv Gandhi had expressed concern about it saying that only 15 paise out of a rupee reaches the poor. It has not yet been improved upon. If the full amount of grants sanctioned for the developmental activities reaches the right place then we can certainly leave behind China within seven years and we can also leave behind America in 10 years and become the richest country of the world. We have got this power. Today we have got the largest number of scientists and have also got the maximum scope for development. If we help our farmers a little bit then we can

be the largest producer of foodgrains. In fact, we just pay lip service to the issues concerning India but do not translate them into action. The day we reduces the gap between saying and action then we can certainly go ahead on the path of progress and prosperity as we got enough of natural resources. This debate would be meaningful only if we translate our words into action and then only this specially convened session would prove its worth in the year of Golden Jubilee Celebrations of India's Independence.

Sir, you have rung the bell and I being a disciplined person, go by your order as you have been associated with the military and conclude my speech.

PROF. RITA VERMA

PROF. RITA VERMA (Dhanbad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to thank you for having given me opportunity to participate in the discussion being held on infrastructure. I have one more request that when you sound the bell, I get scared. Our party should still have a lot of time left because our leaders strictly followed the time schedule and nobody from our party spoke for one hour. I'll request you with folded hands not to alarm me by sounding the bell.

MR. CHAIRMAN : 22 members from your party are yet to speak.

PROF. RITA VERMA : Yes, Sir but we are also prepared to sit here the whole night.

From the very first day, I have been carefully listening to all the speakers. The very first day itself, the young leader of Congress party delivered a very impressive speech that they have done this and they have done that. He also enumerated figures of all the achievements made. We have been listening to all this for last three days. I am prepared to believe every order they have uttered. But, he should tell me that when we have made so many achievements and have succeeded in virtually every sector, why was the course of progress suddenly disrupted in 1991? Why the Government is showing helplessness in every matter by saying that there are no funds hence this scheme is to be closed down or that facility to be withdrawn or the surplus labour is there. When we were registering success in all the fields, why was the trend suddenly reversed? I am not very bright hence it would be better if this is explained to slightly dull minded people like me in the House.

Where was the need to pose as helpless beggars in front of World Bank and I.M.F.? Where was the need to establish this time and again that the Government cannot do this and Government cannot do that. We cannot progress any further in the foreign investment sector. We are filled with shame. Where was the need to re-iterate this fact over and over again? If the party which has ruled the country for so many years can explain this to us, we would be highly grateful.

So far as I understand the position, we have remained busy in promoting corruption and wrong policies right after gaining Independence and it is apparent that we have not paid much attention towards the infrastructure. We have made no capital investment and have also not done any significant work. With the rise in population, the pressure on the infrastructure also mounts, hence the problem kept growing and infrastructure sector did not register much progress. You would be surprised to know that there have been such Five year plans under which not even a single kilometer of highway was constructed. I can support this with an example. At present, the length of highways is 34608 kilometers and 21440 kilometer highway was constructed under the British regime. That much is left? In these fifty years of Independence, only 12858 kilometer long highway has been constructed.

After constructing 123858 km. long road in 50 years, they claim that they have done a number of things for the country. I am not aware of their line of thinking. I fail to understand their point of view. Now, when the problems have assumed a formidable and gignatic form our demands are rising and we have no funds for fulfilling the same and there is such a wide gap, they have got the opportunity to cry themselves hoarse that they Government cairt do anything. Capital investment must be made, foreign capital investment must be made. So much emphasis is being laid on foreign capital investment this is also a conspiracy. If capital investment is made, we must be very careful when the foreign capital investment is sought and if the capital investment is utilised fruitfully, only then it should be considered an achievement. However if we have this feeling that all this is free, it will be a case of "Rinam Kritwa ghritam pivet"

We should think about our future generation. It should not be the case that we should pass on the burden of debt to future generations. We should make an analysis of the

position prevalent during these last fifty years so that our progeny do not blame us after fifty years for having passed on the burden of debt on them. They should not think that whereas the preceding generation passed away after having taken loans, they were left with the burden of debt. It has been the tradition in India that earlier generations used to have a lavish lifestyle and took many loans. It was considered the duty of the progeny to pay off the remaining debt. Hence, the House should consider this issue very seriously. We are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence. At that time we saw that the Freedom fighters used to repeat time and again that the British should leave India. Whereas today we are beckoning the British to came to India and asking as to what can be done for them should a red carpet be rolled out or the flower petals should be showered. Please came and make capital investment. At that time, the British remained in our country for 150 years now they are being asked to settle here for thousands of years and earn profits. I fail to understand as to how we are celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Independence.

What kind of Golden Jubilee are we celebrating? This is not a joke or a laughing matter, it can be called an ironical situation and it is like playing with the sentiments of people of our country. We are trying to demoralise the people of India who had gained independence after making sacrifices. Hon'ble Finance Minister goes to foreign countries and asks, them to make an investment in India and earn profits for years together. All this makes us hang our head in shame and we are forced to think a lot. When we take into consideration the achievements made and losses suffered in these fifty years, we find that the course of development has not been very smooth in case of public life. We gained much less, lost too much and whatever was gained was not distributed in a fair manner due to wrong policies and corruption.

I would like to thank the scientists of the country that their achievements have been great admirable in adverse circumstances. Despite all these achievements, the scientists are not at fault, those in the power are at fault that we have not been able to provide drinking water for half the population of our country. We have not been able to do even this much for them. Where do we propose to lead the country by following western ideology. The present development model and the economic dependence in the country is going to deal a big blow. We should consider this issue.

First of all, I would like to express my views on the power sector. What steps are being taken to solve the problems being faced in power sector. On what path the country is being led and what is the view point of the present Government which in reality is being run by the previous Government. I have found out same formulae. The first formula is:

[English]

The gestation period is directly proportional to the stability of the then Government.

[Translation]

Earlier the Governments used to last longer. They were not apprehensive of the fall of the Government or change of Prime Minister. When some other person takes the charge, it would be said that they don't like his face hence he cannot kept holding the office of the Prime Minister and that same other person should be given that position. Earlier we used to launch major projects in accordance with the needs of the country. You may recall the time when our very first Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was in office. Shastriji ruled only for a very brief period and then Indiraji was in power of quite a long time. At the time we launched major hydel projects like Bhakhra Nangal only because the Government used to remain stable for a long time.

After that stability of subsequent Governments started gradually reducing and in place of hydel projects we paid our attention towards thermal projects. The completion period of hydel project takes 15 years whereas period of a thermal project lasts for five to seven years. Whenever Governments are on the verge of collapse and do not last even for year, we do many strange things. I want to make a submission before the House in this regard. We have proposed to generate electricity through Naptha as gestation period is short in it. Similarly we will generate power through LNG as there too gestation period is short. As the tenure of the Chief Minister of Karnataka is very short, he has experimented Jet engine for power generation. Power is being generated in Los Angeles by fitting a Jet engine in a ship and the day they will not get money, the ship will be moved to Pakistan. Power produced in our country will also be consumed there. Such absurd experiments are being done these days in the field of energy which is increasing the cost of power generation. The World Bank is also mounting pressure on us to revise the rates of electricity. The World Bank want us to charge the rates Rs. 5 to 6 per unit of electricity from common man, Rs. 500 per unit from urban elite class and Rs. 3 per unit from the people living in our villages.

Sir, you might have heard an old couplet that "Lamhon ne khata ki thi aur sadiyon ne saja pai hai." so, if we commit these mistakes now our future generation will condemn us and abuse us after 50 years for such projects. In my view this requires the attention of this House. It is good that

efforts are being made to bring improvements in our State Electricity Boards on the advise of World Bank, Foreign Advisor and local experts. They all require restructuring. Our State Electricity Boards are in very bad condition but who is responsible for this? We have provided in the law that State Electricity Boards would be required to earn a minimum of three per cent profit but in case they failed to achieve this desired result, whether any efforts were made by the Government to set them right? In case they were not discharging their responsibilities properly whether it was not the responsibility of the Government to bring them back on the rails? This is something like not providing treatment to a patient first and to say later on that his disease is beyond any cure therefore give him mercy killing. They did not make any efforts to revive the sick State Electricity Boards during the last 50 years and allowed them to incur losses and now they are saying that management of these Boards have gone beyond their control, therefore, it would be better to privatise them. We are fools and cannot manage the things, therefore, let us handover these Boards to private investors. They fail to understand that our intentions are not clear. If their intention is good, the public sector will also run in profit but if their intention is not clear than be it a private sector or any other sector, we will get the same result—"back to square one"

Sir, we never talk of small investments. Two years back, I had gone to China where I saw in the villages that they have set up small thermal power units which generate 25 MW electricity only and is adequate to cater to the need of a couple of villages but we never think of such smaller projects. We always strive for mega projects because mega projects give us mega kickbacks but in a smaller project there would be only smaller kickbacks, therefore, why to talk about setting up of smaller projects? We always strive for mega projects. But our achievements remain always the same-zero. During the 8th Five Year Plan, our achievement in the power sector has been almost zero. The Government are introducing certain improvements in the power sector but they are generating power somewhere else and their transmission and distribution centres are somewhere else i.e. there would be more than one dozen agencies looking after the planning of projects, construction of power houses and supply and distribution of electricity. Consequently, administration and coordination of these several agencies is likely to create many problems. I fail to understand who will resolve all these problems? Under this new draft, on the one hand none of these units will be in a position to take the full responsibility of projects and on the other, the pace of development will also slacken. Under this new set up of Electricity Boards, State Governments will extend no financial help and they will have no concern whatsoever in this regard then how can you dictate terms to them that they should sell electricity only at particular rates. You are also not in a position to let us know as to whether you will provide electricity to the agriculture sector on priority basis because states are not extending any financial help. Why will you listen to them? In such a situation, the net result will be that rich States or rich sector or urban population probably will have no power shortage but in case our villages, jhuggi-jhonparis and our farms are not provided electricity by the private companies, they will be the worst hit areas. Then, whether this will not lead to unequal distribution of infrastructural investment? If you say that responsibility of these sectors will be borne by the Government then it would be something like. *[English]* Privatisation of profits and nationalisation of losses. *[Translation]* This is a good philosophy. Under such a system possibilities of large scale corruption cannot be ruled out. To some extent, we are certainly in favour of commercialisation of certain services. No doubt we favour commercial marketability. But in the guise of commercialisation the Government want to do the globalisation of our market that too on the basis of foreign investment. I am now going to speak on telecommunication but Beni Prasadji has left the House. There is a company, namely, PDIL in my constituency which does planning of fertilizer factories and designs models for them. It used to be a viable company and was earning profit. But our proximity to Italy did cost that company very heavily. We stiffled our flourishing company in the interest of Snam Proggetti. Not only this company, there were other profit earning companies like HSCL also which were shut down due to corruption and our ill-intention. I still remember the day when Pt. Nehru had gone to Sindri to inaugurate a fertilizer factory where he said these factories are the modern temples of India. He had said that in near future instead of going to the temples, the people would be coming to these factories and worshipping there. Today I wish if I could call the soul of Panditji to see the condition of the Temples of his dreams. I have seen the people, who have ruled the country till recent past, uttering the names of Nehruji and Gandhiji after every two lines in their speech which makes me laugh because they utter the names of Gandhi and Nehru but their ways are quite different from that of Gandhi and Nehru. There is a saying that *[English]* "when you are in doubt, blink to the left and turn to the right."

[Translation]

This is their condition. Remember the name of Gandhi ji and go on eliminating cottage industry. Yesterday our former Prime Minister delivered a very touching and impressive speech. He laid much stress on cottage industry in his speech. At that time, I remembered Gandhi ji so much. What a great contradiction! when you are in power, you hardly remember Gandhi ji and cottage industry but the

moment you are out of power, you start remembering Gandhi ji, cottage industry, the poor of this country and everything. In this connection, I recall a saying prevalent in our society that "patience is the poor man's virtue". When you are in power you remember only IMF, World Bank and the ways and means to mobilise the financial resources. At that time, you never remember cottage industry and Gandhi ji Earlier the Union Government used to harp the name of Gandhi ji and cottage industry and even now the present Government is implementing the policies of previous Government. Their policy is the same, as in fact those very elements are controlling the Government. Hon. Joshi ji has described in details the economic system and tradition of cottage industry. ... *(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I request you that some more time may be allotted to me and you can stop me if I say something wrong.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Undoubtedly, you are making a good speech. I have rung the bell after 20 minutes. If I am not able to check you, how I can check other.

PROF. RITA VERMA : I seek your co-operation. Beni Prasadji has left the House.

This Government has borrowed the policies from the former Government. In the field of Telecommunications these policies are not only ruining the telecommunication system but also endangering our national security. I do not know as to whether the Government is aware of this fact or not. Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav is the Minister of Defence. The intention of the Government is not clear. As a result thereof, wrong facts were presented to get support for the new telecommunication policy. Low density of telephones has been shown and facts regarding domestic production has been hidden. Shortage of resources have been exaggerated in order to show that we are unable to generate that much resources and as a result thereof foreign companies are invited in the country. New rules and regulations were framed for the foreign companies which have made investment for basic telecom services. According to these new rules no Indian companies if they have no collaboration with any foreign companies can give tenders for it. I am very sorry to say that Beni Prasad is not here. What is the intention of Government behind it? They are trying to involve foreign companies on the plea that Indian companies do not have experience in this field. This Government is trying to project that Indian companies cannot make progress without the foreign assistance. During the last 50 years, this Government has generated inferiority complex in us and we feel that we cannot do anything without foreign assistance.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I remember very well that during British rule Gandhi ji had given us a slogan to boycott the imported textile and make a bonfire of it. That time no one raised any objection that from where we would get the clothes for our use because at that time our textile production was very low and even the thumbs of weavers and artisans were cut by Britishers. But Gandhi had taught us non-violence, truth and bravery. He did not care that from where this much cloth would come. He advised to boycott the foreign made textiles and produce the handloom cloth. But now this government which proclaims to be a follower of Gandhi ji says that we do not have experience for filling tenders. Recently Enron Company has made a statement that they are spending huge sum to educate Indians. It is ridiculous. In this context I remember a story. There was a farmer whose fields were lying idle. People asked him as to why he did not plough his field. At first he said that his brother-in-law had promised him to do that but his brother-in-law did not come. Next day in reply to the same question he said that his uncle would come to plough the fields but even he did not turn up. At last he himself ploughed the fields and cultivated crops and then he enjoyed fruits of his hard work. I do not know why this Government is trying to weaken the country.

Mr. Chairman, there was an old saying in my area that "Uttam kheti, madhyam baan, adham chakari, bheeph nidaan". But with the Macaulay system of education we learned to lead the life of a clerk. The Government service has become an objective of our life. Earlier beggary was considered the worst option but now our Government, Prime Minister, Finance Minister and Chief Minister of States tour foreign countries with a begging bowl to seek assistance.

Our contribution in world trade is even less than one percent. Our export is quite less. I do not know that when we are trying to attract the attention of foreign companies towards the market of our vast country which faces shortage of things and we ourselves do not try to tap this market. ...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, I will take some more time. I will wind up my speech, before the bell is rung. In place of laying emphasis on export why we do not try to tap our national market and invite others to make investment by providing them facilities. We compare ourselves to foreigners who are trying to overpower the world trade with their small team of experts. I am surprised by this act of bravery. In fact self reliace and indigenisation is the only way out for the country. In place of depending on other we should work ourselves.

The plan of disinvestment is also a mode of corruption. I have also taken part in the discussion of Committee on Public Undertakings. The plea given for this plan of disinvestment is that our companies are incurring huge losses. But at the time of taking action on such plans we take up profit earning companies. BHEL is a good company and is able to complete with foreign companies. BHEL has begged several contracts after competing with many multi-national companies. But now the Government is trying to merge BHEL with ABB and Hitachi. It means they are trying to wind up indigenous companies.

Disinvestment is meant for sick industries but this Government is trying to make the profit earning, good companies dependent on foreign assistance. Once a foreign company takes over B.H.E.L, how long will it take for them to overpower the Indian market? They think it well in time what to do? Later on a Committee is set up and they come across such experts also. Who help them achieve their goal. Then they do whatever the Government wants. If it is an age of nationalisation, is it said that nationalisation would be done and if there is the age of privatisation, the report comes that privatisation would be done.

Rakesh Mohan Committee is much in discussion. It is the Bible for them in the field of infrastructure. I do not agree with all the recommendations of Rakesh Mohan Committee but the report is good and the Committee has a clear view in this regard since it takes a long time to gain profit in infrastructure field. Therefore, there is a need of long term loans for the financial support to the infrastructure projects. These long term loans and such a huge amount since it is expected that there is a need of Rupees four thousand to four thousand and five hundred Crore. Rakesh Mohan Committee also states that the foreign investment would not be done. More than 15 per cent foreign investment can not be expected.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken half an hour. Please wind up.

PROF. RITA VERMA : Mr. Chairman, I would like to take ten minutes more. Please adjust this time from the time allotted to my Party.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not do that because I can not check anybody else.

[Translation]

PROF. RITA VERMA : People have taken one hour to 65 minutes. If I beat about the bush then, that is another matter. Our Party was allotted the highest time and it has taken the least time. Therefore, I would like to take ten minutes more.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Instead of 20 minutes I have given you 30 minutes. Now you please conclude.

PROF. RITA VERMA : I would like to take ten minutes more ... *[Interruptions]*

We sit for the whole night.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are more than twenty hon. Members from the B.J.P. to speak. You have taken 30 minutes. Please wind up now.

[Translation]

PROF. RITA VERMA : Mr. Chairman Sir, 85 per cent investment will have to be arranged from the domestic resources. It is possible only when the policies are favourable and transparent in each section for the investors.

Mr. Chairman Sir, since today the out sider is welcomed while the one who comes of the family is neglected. We do not pay much attention to our countrymen but there is an international management consultant company, Ernst and Young International.

I would like to read out its report since they think that the English considered to be the experts. Only the Americans are the expert. According to its latest study report if India does not remove the shortcomings in the infrastructure sector, then it would be difficult for her to achieve the growth rate of 7 per cent in the next decade.

The other report is of Asia Pacific outlook 1997–2007. The Ernst and Young International has said in it that there seems to be no chance of improvement in the infrastructure sector's problems of India. It would rather give boost to problems. For example, the gap between demand and supply of power in the Northern India has been increasing. The expected investment is not being done to remove the shortcomings in the field of infrastructure sector. Advocating firmly the Government investment to solve the problems of infrastructure sector it has been stated in the export that the dreams of India to achieve the growth rate of 7 per cent

and further 9 to 10 per cent like China and Vietnam, would only come time if serious efforts are made to remove political enstability and the infrastructure shortcomings. The infrastructure short comings would the political instability would be removed. Unless we catch hold our responsibility, how the political instability would be removed. It is to be pondered over by the people and the country. I conclude my speech since.

You are saying time and again otherwise I had much in store to speak. When we talk about corruption our hon. Prime Minister says that the people should come forward to fight out corruption. ... *[Interruptions]*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Come to the conclusion.

[Translation]

PROF. RITA VERMA : I am coming towards conclusion. At last I would like to recite a couplet which would refresh your mood.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not worry about my mood rather worry about the mood of the House.

PROF. RITA VERMA : The mood of the House would also be fine. ...*[Interruptions]*

When the hon. Prime Minister says that the people should come forward to fight out corruption. I recall a joke. It is a joke so do not take it in reality. An aircraft was flying. Many people were on board in it. The pilot said that the load of the aircraft had become heavy so some people would have to sacrifice their lives so that the other people can land safely. Who among you are coming forward to sacrifice their lives. A French citizen was there, since the French are generally sentimental, he came forward and said 'We love France' and jumped out of the aircraft. He was followed by an English. He said, "Long live the King." and he too jumped out of the aircraft. There were two Indians. One of the Indian said, Long live my country and pushed out the other Indian. What to say. The hon. Prime Minister himself does not fight out corruption and ask that the others should come forward to fight out corruption. I had committed this mistake. Once when I came out to fight out corruption I was beaten up and sent to jail. I thought that fighting out corruption I go to jail and the hon. Prime Minister runs the Government with the help of those corrupt people. They enjoy while I am sent to jail. If the people would come forward to fight against corruption then who has elected him as the Prime Minister. Has he been elected with the help of the corrupt people to take rest or enjoy or to be the king. The people would be trapped, sent to jail and even then they would fight against corruption, the whole exercise is to be done by the people. ...*[Interruptions]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please come to the couplet. ... *[Interruptions]*

PROF. RITA VERMA : You might have heard old stories about Gandhi Ji and Gautam Budhha. A mother came along with his son and said that the child eats much sugar. Please ask him not to eat much sugar. He said come after ten days. After ten days, when she came only this much was said to her. ...*[Interruptions]*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please come to the couplet.

PROF. RITA VERMA : I will take one more minute to conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am drawing flak from the whole House.

[Translation]

PROF. RITA VERMA : We also have been bored so we do have the right to bore others. ...*[Interruptions]*

On that day, only this much was said to the child that leave eating sugar. The child gave up eating sugar. When the mother asked Gautam Buddha why did not he say this on the very first day. He replied that he was to give up eating sugar first. The hon. Prime Minister gives speech come forward to do satyagraha only then you would be heard.

He himself is sitting in the chair comfortably and is asking us to fight against corruption. Should we go to jail and bear the lathis. The country would be again at the top of development but what is the condition today a poet has remarked about it very rightly.

"barbad gulistan karne ko,
jab ek hi ullu kafi hai;
har shakh pe ullu baitha Hai,
anjam-e-gulistan kya hoga".

Thank you very much and with these words, I conclude.

SHRI P. UPENDRA

[English]

SHRI P. UPENDRA (Vijayawada) : Sir, you have been very chivalrous to the charming lady Members and I do not think you will have to ring the bell. I will take half the time that she has taken.

This is a very unique debate watched by the whole nation. There is also an unprecedented enthusiasm among the Members. Perhaps for the first time in the history of this Parliament almost every Member wants to speak. It is very good that the hon. Speaker has agreed to extend the Session.

Sir, the Secretariat has circulated a very good background material which is a compendium of our achievements, failures, successes, shortcomings and our aspirations and future projections. This is an occasion for introspection and also an inspiration for the youth who are not conversant with the freedom struggle and the sacrifices of our great men and women because of which we got our freedom.

Many hon. Members who spoke before me had pointed out the achievements on this country; we need no ascribe to any particular party, but the party which has ruled the country for 45 of the 50 years can legitimately take credit for this though the people of India deserve congratulations for all the achievements.

Sustaining of the democratic fabric and the successful completion of the eleven General Elections and the survival of the nation as a democratic polity is our biggest achievement. Our achievements in agriculture, in food self-sufficiency, in irrigation and power, in industries including those dealing with the defence equipments, our science and technology, our telecommunications, education and literacy, better health facilities, increased longevity, transport particularly Railways, power generation and also the benefits which emanated from the liberalisation process since 1991 in terms of our increased trade, foreign exchange reserves, lowering of the inflationary rates—all these speak well of the country's progress.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I need not go into the details of the achievements which have been listed in the background material which has been quoted by many hon. Members. I would only like to deal with two or three aspects. One is the paradoxes and the contradictions involved in the Indian situation today. It requires a self-introspection on the part of all of us. As I said earlier, despite all our failures, we have survived as a democracy. Once Prof. Galbriaith tauntingly called India a 'functioning anarchy'. That was how he described the Indian situation. It is not an anarchy as such, but we will have to consider certain problems involved in that and our shortcomings.

There are some ironical situations, aberrations, paradoxes and contradictions in the situation. On the one side we boast of a democratic system and free and fair elections.

Simultaneously, we are worried about money and muscle power and inadequate empowerment of women who constitute half the population of this country. On the one side, we bloat over to our achievements that our food production has gone up from 50 million tonnes to 200 million tonnes since Independence. We have got nearly 25 million tonnes of buffer stock of goodgrains. We also say that there are no godowns available to store our stocks. But at the same time, we find that millions of people are starving. At many places, they do not have two square meals a day. This is a very paradoxical situation which should make us think. On the one side, the agricultural production is going up. The farmers are using modern techniques, modern implements and all that. But again, on the other side, those farmers, who produce, are not getting remunerative prices. They are in perpetual debt.

On the one side, we boast of scientific and technological progress, our inroads into space and our rockets and all that. But are we not ashamed of the conditions that are prevailing in the country which are comparable even to those in the 18th century where women do not have even toilets? What a spectacle do we come across in the rural areas? it is not only in the rural areas but also in towns and even in the capital of Delhi that the people are defecating openly on pavements and near the walls. That is the situation we are faced with here. We have not been able to provide even the minimum needs of drinking water or food or sanitation in many places. People today in the rural areas take drinking water from the same tank. On the one side, the *dhobis* wash their clothes while on the other side, people wash their cattle. We have not been able to provide protected drinking water for a vast number of people. Forty per cent of the villages are without link roads. These are the problems which we will have to ponder over.

Besides, the medical and health facilities have increased. But I have seen a number of villages, there is not even a single doctor in village. There are hospital buildings without doctors. There are hospitals without medicines. This is also a paradoxical situation which we will have to take care of.

This is the land of Mahatma Gandhi, the Buddha, Ashoka, Mahavira, Guru Nanak and Kabir. But, at the same time, we find a lot of violence and terrorism in various parts of the country, atrocities on women, atrocities on weaker sections, trampling of the human rights and also incidents of State terrorism in many places.

Our literacy rate has increased from 18.33 per cent to 52 per cent now. But, at the same time, the total number of illiterates has increased in the country to 450 million people. This is also a paradoxical situation. The percentage of literacy is increasing. Simultaneously, the number of illiterates is also very high. Our GDP rose from 3.6 per cent in the first Plan to about seven per cent in the Ninth Plan. The per capita income increased from Rs. 1.127 to Rs. 2.450. But today, 38 per cent of the people or 323 million are below the poverty line. Is it not a paradox?

There is prosperity of a few. There are rich people in this country. Unfortunately, there is squalor, poverty and so much distress around. We allow the pomp and show, the wastage, the ostentatious living and also birthday bashes and also vulgar display of wealth in this country. Can we not stop it at least in this poor country?

We have made much progress in the social sectors. If you take the figures, the latest Report of the UNDP on Social Development says that even:

> "Our country ranks 138th out of 174 countries as regards social development."

It is also a very paradoxcial situation.

We boast of an efficient bureaucracy. They are hard-working. They are efficient. They are qualified. But can we say that they are development-oriented? Are they not self-centred?

Are they not highhanded and insensitive to the sufferings of the people? Can a common man go to an office and get justice on its own? The officials have become so very insensitive. Administrative delays lead to corruption. The police is still not the friend of the people.

Sir, the issue of reservation is a very sensitive subject. According to the constitutional norms, the reservation system has been adopted in order to bring the down-trodden people and the people belonging to the lowest strata of the society up the social ladder. But what is happening? Reservations which are meant for the people of the lowest strata are not going to the people who actually deserve it. It is ironical that the people in the upper strata, the upper caste people want to become backward classes the backward class people want to become Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There is a tendency on the part of the people to go down the social ladder rather than going up the ladder. Is it not a paradoxical situation? Are we going forward or backward? Does this not set us thinking? One or two State governments have subdivided the Scheduled Castes into four categories. This is a point on which all of us have to ponder over.

Sir, we boast of being one nation and one people. But divisive forces are at work and communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguism are rampant. Could we say that we are thinking as 'Indians first and Indians last'? We are not doing that. We are thinking about our own regions as Telugus, as Bengalis and as Biharis. Nobody thinks as an Indian and acts as an Indian. This feeling has spread in foreign countries also. If you go to America, we would not find an Indian Association but we would find an Andhra Association, a Tamil Association, a Bengali Association, a Bihari Association etc. It is unfortunate that this feeling has spread to the foreign countries as well. These are some of the paradoxes and ironical situations which I wanted to point out.

Why has this situation come about? One of the reasons for this is the population explosion. No decisive steps have been taken to control this. So far there is no National Population Policy. We do not have any guidelines and no destinations before us to reach to. We have not even adopted the 'one child' policy. Some people advocate that it is not suitable for our country. The benefits of development did not get percolated down to the common man. It was pointed out by the late Rajiv Gandhiji at one time that out of every rupee which is being sent to the States and district Panchayati Raj institutions only 15 paise is reaching the people. We would have to think about that also.

Sir, the State Governments which are the administrative units and which are supposed to implement the poverty alleviation programmes are not doing their job properly. The funds are being diverted for other schemes. The Central schemes are being renamed and then the money is wasted.

Sir, we lack national pride as the Japanese or the Germans or the Koreans have. We do not feel that national pride. There is no discipline as in China. We do not inculcate a sense of discipline amongst our youth. The Politician—bureaucrat—contractor nexus, during the last fifty years,

has eaten away all the benefits of the five year plans and consequently the money spent on them.

There is no political will to tackle corruption and unearth black money. There is no involvement of the youth in nation building. They are frustrated. That is reflected in many spheres including our performance in international sports. There is no proper functioning of the political parties. There is no inner democracy in the political parties. There are no regular elections. Now, the Election Commission has forced it on them.

Sir, one more point which I would like to highlight is the cracking up of the pillars of the State. There has been a gradual decay of our national institutions. We have got a delicate balance between the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive in our Constitution which has been well spelt out. Our Judiciary is independent and impartial. But justice is denied to the common people. Today, the poor man cannot go and get justice and has to wait for years and years. Non-conventional judgments by the Courts, what you call the 'judicial activism', is also a matter of worry for us. This has been commented upon, many articles have also been written about it and this matter has also been discussed in this House several times.

16.00 hrs.

What did the court say? Just because of the executive apathy and failure of legislatures the courts have to do the jobs of the other two wings of the State. Sir, here I would like to quote a well known jurist, Justice H.R. Khanna:

> "The governance of a country or a State is a task assigned by the Constitution to the Government, which is responsible to the duly elected legislature."

Criticising the transgressions of the court, Mr. Justice Khanna says:

> "If mankind, while passing through the successive stages of political consciousness, has done away with despotism of kinds and dictators, it would be purile to expect it to put up with despotism of the judiciary. Of the different types of despotism, judicial despotism is not only inexcusable, it is also most irrational."

That is what Justice Khanna had pointed out.

I mentioned about the delay in rendering justice due to delay in our courts. The courts in India are having so much in their hands that they can well devote more of the time and energy on expeditious disposal of cases before them rather than on public interest litigations. Public interest litigations are all right in certain very rare cases. Now, the way the public interest litigations are taken to the courts, it is only delaying the disposal of the other cases. According to the figures given by the Law Minister in this House some time ago, about 70,000 cases are pending before the Supreme Court. Out of this, more than 10,000 cases are pending for over 10 years, another 10,000 for over five years and 7,500 cases for three years and more. If you take the total number of cases pending before various courts in the country, they are over two crore. The time has now come for the heads of all these three wings, the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice of India and the Presiding Officers of the two Houses, to sit together and find a solution about this so-called judicial activism, judiciary transgressing its limit encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the other two wings of the State.

As regards the Legislature, the Speaker has rightly expressed his anguish over the deterioration of the standards of the Parliament and the legislatures. There is no serious discussion taking place. Very little time is given for discussion on important Bills. Most of the time there is no quorum. Important Bills are being passed without a quorum in the House by having an agreement between the Government and Opposition. The public perception of the politicians itself is going down. As somebody has commented, it is a paradoxical spectacle of people electing the politicians and start loathing them immediately after. That is the situation in this country. Maybe perhaps elsewhere also. The whole Parliamentary system is being put to ridicule.

Vajpayeeji has given three suggestions for remedying the situation. We would add two or three more to it. He mentioned about coming to the well. We should also include raising of slogans in the House. We should also include one more point, that is when the Chair stands the members should sit. That is the fundamental rule which has already been incorporated in the Rules Book but not being observed.

In many countries, when there is a live telecast the television cameras are focused only on the Chair and on the permitted Member. They do not show the members who are interrupting or the unruly scenes. We have to follow this procedure in our legislatures also.

We have adopted the Committee system but unfortunately in the rules it is said that the suggestions are of a considered nature and they are of recommendatory nature to the Government. It is not enough. We should strengthen these committees and make them more powerful

as the American committees by making it mandatory on the part of the Government to implement the recommendations of these Standing Committees. Unless we do that, the Committee system will not function.

Now, we are thinking of having an Ethics Committee. The other House has already appointed an Ethics Committee. This House is considering it and fortunately I have been assigned the task of studying the functioning of the Ethics Committees. In two or three countries we have finished our job and very shortly we are going to give a report on it.

In many countries there is a system of declaration of assets by the legislators as soon as they are elected. Periodically they have to give their reports during the year whenever they acquire or dispose of some assets. There is a register of interest. When they speak they have to indicate whether they are interested in a particular company or industry. These things we will have to pursue in this country also. At the same time we should not grudge giving Members of Parliament the facilities, the infrastructure necessary so that they can function effectively.

We always get sensitive in this matter. We need not be sensitive in this. We are the poorest Parliamentarians in the world. Legislators in many smaller countries are paid better. Unless we give the necessary equipment to the Member, the Parliamentary system cannot be effective.

Though our Executive is motivated and hardworking, as I mentioned earlier, there are delays and there is corruption. There is a need for administrative reforms to be brought about to ensure accountability of the Executive.

We have been talking about electoral reforms. Many things have to be considered in this. There is an agreement among various political parties on electoral reforms. I think the time has come to accord top priority to this.

About the functioning of the Constitution, 78 Amendments have so far been passed and five more are pending. There is a discussion about the form of Government. However, I do not subscribe to the theory of the Presidential form of Government for a country of this complexity and size with these many ethnic and linguistic groups. Only the Cabinet form of Government will ensure sense of participation by various States. Therefore, I do not think the Presidential form of Government will suit this country.

I think the time has come to set up a Constitutional Reforms Commission to suggest amendments to the Constitution. There are suggestions also that some changes have to be brought. There is a suggestion about the composition of the Rajya Sabha—as to whether we should give equal representation to the States instead of proportional representation or not. There is suggestion to expand the electoral college for Presidential election to include the Panchayati Raj functionaries, or at least the officials up to the Block level. There is also a suggestion to include MLAs in the electoral college for vice-presidential election.

The role of the Planning Commission has to be redefined. What is the role of the National Development Council; what is the role of the National Integration Council; and what is the role of the Inter-State Council? These also have to be defined clearly. These bodies should be made more effective.

There is a suggestion on the right to work and the right to information being included in the Fundamental Rights. All these things require a comprehensive look at the Constitution which could be done again through the Constitutional Reforms Commission. For this, a national consensus is needed.

What is in store for us? We have been analysing the problems; we have been analysing our shortcomings. But what does the world think of us? I will read a paragraph from the latest report of the World Bank which was published in the *Times of India* of day before yesterday.

> "The Report also maintains that if the Indian economy, which has grown by an average of six to seven per cent over the past three years, can maintain its present course, and income distribution stays at its current level, India's incidence of poverty could plummet from its current rate of approximately 35 per cent to a mere 6.3 per cent by 2005. This would be tremendous achievement for a country which is the home of the largest concentration of poor in the world."

The report further says:

> "India has made substantial gains against widespread privations over the last fifty years."

The World Bank predicts that come next century, India will become the fourth most powerful country in the world. Therefore, we need not be pessimistic about the future of this country.

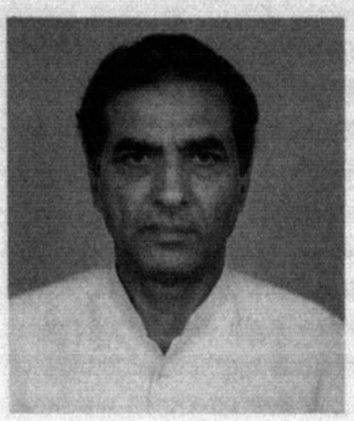
I now briefly spell out the priorities that have to be set so that, when we discuss about the future course of action at the time of bringing about the Resolution tomorrow or the day after, we can keep these things in view. The priority areas are: population control with strict disincentives; stress on minimum needs—food, shelter and clothing; fulfilment of constitutional guarantees which we are committed to; prevention of atrocities on women and weaker sections; removal of frustration among youths; stress on improvement of sports and youth affairs; greater attention to women and child welfare; health for all; a doctor in every village; a dispensary in every block; a well-equipped hospital in each District Headquarters; remunerative prices for farmers; better working conditions for industrial workers; orderliness in Legislatures; electoral reforms; war against corruption; setting up of the institution of Lok Pal; democratic functioning of political parties; a fresh look at the Constitution; review of all anti-poverty programmes and the Central schemes; restructuring of Centre-State relations and the role of the Inter-State Council, NDC and NIC, and implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations; strengthening of Panchayati Raj bodies; stress on better environment; encouragement to small scale industries and self-employment schemes; changes in curricula of schools and colleges to instill among children and youth patriotism, discipline and civic sense.

16.10 hrs.

[SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*]

I would conclude by saying that despite all the predictions of so many people fifty years ago that this country would collapse and that this country would not survive as an independent country, we have disproved them. India has survived as a nation and the nation is on the march.

Tomorrow, our Resolution must end on a hopeful note that despite all our shortcomings, we are a nation on the march. We have nothing to be ashamed of. We have made tremendous progress and of course, when the Centenary of the Independence would be celebrated fifty years ahead, many of us would not be there, but when our great grand children would review the performance of this country in the hundredth year of Independence, I hope they would be able to say better and more encouraging things. As Gandhiji said, 'every tear in the eyes of the poor man would be wiped out by then and India would be on the continuous march to progress and prosperity'.



SHRI MOHD. MAQBOOL DAR

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MOHD. MAQBOOL DAR): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I am just returning from Jammu and Kashmir which is called the Taj of Hindustan, I found there that terrorism has faded out from the State and the evil designs of Pakistan has been defeated. There was a time when the think-tanks here even went up to saying that this state has slipped out of our hands. My friends fought against the terrorists alongwith me. But the people who ruled the state earlier and led a happy life at its cost were not seen at the time of need. Where have they gone? Either they went to London or Bihar and the people of the State were left to their fate. But as a patriot I can say that after a long political process in Parliament an initiative was taken.

[English]

That paved the way for installing a popular Govt. there.

[Translation]

Keeping all this in view, I was apprehensive that a small person like me may not be given an opportunity to speak. I tried my best to speak on this issue. I made a request in writing twice. I personally met the concerned person three times. But today I become sad when I found that I may not get even a small chance. I am thankful to you that you gave me a chance to speak.

I do not want to make a long speech because the suggestions put forward by my learned friends and experts are adequate. If they are implemented after due consideration, it can serve as a strong base. I am a common man. I am one among the poor farmers, the dalits, the poor and the needy. I represent them. So I will make certain submissions as per my practical observations about their

expectations from us. The poor voters from rural areas send us here with lots of expectations and they may be in lakhs. My voters are residents of Anantnag and Palvama districts. They consider me the most honest and dedicated person. I am confident that the 548 representatives in the House are the cream of this country. They are the cream of 90 crore people. 90 crore people place their fate at our disposal, send us here and give recognition to us. That is there in every field, be it favouritism or honesty. My friends should not be annoyed. I have no hesitation to say that consider this great country as my home and family. So it is my duty to tell the truth. What is the practical observation? I have listened to members' views and how they try to make their score by humiliating each other. It may be at party level or within the party. A Common Voter who elects us, minutely observes us. My submission is that only poor people make sacrifices to make this country great and they work for the welfare and prosperity of the country. We should unite ourselves and set aside the politics of humiliating each other. We should work with unity for the development of the country. Instead of indulging in humiliation if we play a constructive role, then, we will perform our responsibilities sincerely and then, again after five years we can challenge each other at the political level.

I am not a pessimist. 50 years have been spent since the country got independence. There was a time when even a needle was not made in the country. We expelled the foreign rulers. India was a golden bird in that era. Even today it is so. All the members have explained the resources and the people admit that. It is an open book. The foreigners ruled over the country for a long period and even sold needle at high rates to us. I want to speak on this issue with broadmindedness that it is God's gift. Our people say that we have gained nothing. In this period of 50 years we have gained a lot. We have made progress in science and technology. It is my view that very soon a time will come when we will move to the front line of developed countries and get top position, there was a period when the foreign rulers prepared the youth to work in their offices for reading, writing and arithmetic. But we have made progress in the field of education following the guidelines of Mahatma Gandhi. By the grace of God we give the training of hand, heart and head to our children. In this way we can produce excellent engineers, Our country has produced competent heart-specialists in the world. I want to make a request that a member has raised the issue of Jammu-Kashmir. I would like to reiterate that Jammu-Kashmir. State is an integral part of India and it will remain so. They started two nation theory. We have rejected it in 1947 deliberately. We have attached our fate with this great country. In 1947 when the whole country was burning on the fire of communalism, Mahatma Gandhi said that a hope of humanity is seen from Kashmir valley only. We have to see that the crown of India remains always on its head, did not we ever trample it under our feet. We have to admit the previous mistakes of fifty years and after receiving blows, we have to move ahead with great caution.

I admit that there has been some injustice with Jammu-Kashmir. Maharaja Gulab Singh had purchased the princely State Jammu-Kashmir for Rs. 75 lakh from Britishers and now the Pak occupied Kashmir is under the possession of Pakistan. I say, the people of Kashmir say and every citizen of India says that if we have any dispute with Pakistan, that is on Kashmir. But Kashmir is our part and we will take it. Gilgit a portion of Greater Kashmir has been occupied by the Chinese which needs to be regained. The country has to decide how to regain these portions. The 90 crore people of India have to decide. At that time the population of greater Kashmir was forty lakh. If I was not born, my respected father and grand father were in it. If I am not included in it even then also the people from the side of Jammu-Kashmir princely state will tell the nation that my price was also Rs. 1.75 when Maharaja Gulab Singh purchased it at this price. So I want to say and give particulars about the state of backwardness of Jammu-Kashmir princely state, a resident of which was purchased for Rs. 1.75. Our forefathers did not provide Article 370 out of nothing. Keeping in view our backwardness Jammu-Kashmir state should be developed and given the status of Taj of India. Kashmir is our pride. Had decision been taken under it, then Asif Zardari, who stands seventh among the capitalists and wealthy persons in the world, would have procured a small part of the land in Kashmir Valley and would have thrown us out of Kashmir. Article 370 has been a sort of guarantee for us. This was our elders farsightedness. We appreciate their farsightedness. If any person procures land, then procuring of land should be made a state subject. I would like to tell you one thing. I was doing law in Aligarh Muslim University. There a boy used to bring milk for me. I used to tell him that I am *khurdham khan* and doing law graduation and I am studying law. I used to give him orders to cleanse the utensils and I used to drink warm milk brought by him. One day the boy did not turn up for work, instead he sent his younger brother. I asked Sudarshan, the younger brother about Ramu's whereabouts. He informed me that his elder brother has gone to submit his thesis papers. After hearing this, I felt very ashamed. I am citing this example because till recently, not even a single matric passed was available in Jammu-Kashmir, whereas the situation is different today.

Had Article 370, not been there, then our children would not have been in a position to get jobs. Under Article 370, Government service should be a State subject. It is a gift of Article 370. Therefore I would like to request my friends and colleagues not to raise the matter of Article 370 to insult and ruin each other. Still Jammu-Kashmir is backward. It is lagging far behind of Punjab and other States. We lack proper educational environment and resources so that we could complete with other states.

[English]

We will be at par with other states, economically, socially and educationally.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 16–17 minutes.

SHRI MOHD. MAQBOOL DAR : I would request you.

[English]

I am a disciplined soldier.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would like to tell one thing. You people are Ministers. You have requested, so you were given an opportunity to speak. You should think about those members, who sat till late hours upto 5.30 A.M.

... (Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAQBOOL DAR : Sir, I belong to a poor State. The poor voters have elected me. They have some expectations that a sincere, kind, honest and respectful person has become a Minister and he will do something for them. Some members had an apprehension that such a sensitive post has been given to a person like me. Sir, I would complete my speech in two-three minutes.

Just now, I have mentioned about Jammu and Kashmir State. I would like to talk about our country. Since I am the Home Minister for State I have a small responsibility and moreover I am on a practical observation. I move among the common people. I have made the State Home Minister's post easily approachable.

[English]

It is open round the clock.

[Translation]

It is open round the clock. It is open even at 15, Lodi Estate and I am also available round the clock in my office and I do everything according to my capacity. But I have only this thing in my mind.

[English]

If at all I cannot do anything, at least, I can go to my people irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

[Translation]

Even people of Mizoram have given so much to me. When I came here, I was called the 'Hero of the country,' but I was not given ministerial berth for one month. I am thankful to all the people of our country particularly to my constituency people who have put their life in danger to send me here. The respect showered on me is not only meant for me but it is also for those people who have sent me here facing all odds. I am also thankful to the people, press, media of Mizoram, who have come.

[English]

From all corners of the country, from all walks of life.

[Translation]

They have helped the state in conducting the elections smoothly. So, now I think that since people from Mizoram, Assam and Bihar have contributed a lot, so besides being their representative and Home Minister, I am their friend also. I am ready to sacrifice anything for them. So, whenever any person, he or she, has come to me, with injuries, even at 1 A.M. in the night, I went with them to Police Station and got their FIR registered. This is a peculiar situation. I should not have told about my weakness because here I am holding an important position. But I have noticed in Delhi that there was a time when people who go to file FIR were put behind the bars. I do not have much power. This is also a secret as to how much power I have.

[English]

I tried to make something out of nothing.

[Translation]

When someone asks me as to what my portfolio is, then I say that the entire Home Ministry is mine.

Sir, through you, I would like to appeal to my colleagues and the entire nation. Sometimes matter related to illegal immigration is raised here. Lots of discussions are held and there is uproar in the House. Sometimes I think to reply and pacify all but today no question has been raised hence there is no reply from my side, rather in this case, my humble request is that we should leave our vested interests and we should rise above the party affiliations at least on the national issues such as bringing in normalcy in Jammu-Kashmir, checking terrorism in North-East and checking illegal immigrations. If we do this, then voters' blessings would be with us, which in return may bring us good fortune. Irrespective of the nationality, we call our servant boy by a common name 'bahadur' even though he may belong to Nepal, Bangladesh or Pakistan because we employ him as our servant. Whereas, here in this House we call them illegal immigrants. We register their name in the voters list for the sake of votes and after elections we say that they are illegal immigrants. I never try to raise a finger towards anyone rather I would like to humbly appeal to my colleagues to rise above party politics at least in these important and sensitive cases. What did not happen in Kashmir valley? Many youth lost their lives. Many children have lost their parents. Nevertheless, we are proud of our para-military forces, BSF, CRP, Military forces and ISF. It is not written on the forehead of any terrorist that he is a terrorist. Someone may be a soldier or officer, but first of all he is a human being, he is a son of someone. He is not a messenger of God. When such a situation arises then some people make hue and cry that human rights are being violated. Ask those terrorists whether they do not violate human rights? Our soldiers may violate Human Rights in some cases. Many soldiers have been killed in Jammu and Kashmir. Many families have been rendered homeless? Our brave soldiers are the honour and pride of India. They have turned despair into hope and God, the almighty has turned those hopes into reality. The chief whip of opposition, wanted to visit Jammu and Kashmir whenever, he felt boring, but he could not visit. But now he has visited Srinagar with 400 Parliament members. Shri Ramnathji had, in his speech, expressed his desire to stay with the common man in a house boat. He talked to the common man, whether he was a cook or a boatman. He commented that all these people are patriots. There, fundamentalists comprise only 7 per cent of the population, whereas 93 per cent population has always been Indians and patriots. They are ready to sacrifice their lives for the country. They are ready to do anything for the country. Some people agree with this and some other do not agree. Without taking more time, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI V.V. RAGHAVAN

[English]

SHRI V.V. RAGHAVAN (Trichur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you very much.

It is a bold initiative which has been taken to convene this Special Session of our House with a well—thoughtout background material and an excellent speech by our hon. Speaker. During these four days our senior leaders were kind enough to part with their vast knowledge on science and technology, on Indian philosophy and on various aspects of our social fabric. Hon. Ministers after hon. Ministers came here and gave their valuable opinions. Please excuse me when I say that repetition, in whatever sweet words we may put in, is a mental harassment.

I stop it at that.

I had the misfortune of listening to a panel discussion on the Delhi Station of All India Radio. One of the participants was finding fault with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He was saying that Pandit Nehru's adoption of the Soviet model of planning was not in the interests of the country. I do not know where the panelist found fault with the Soviet model.

There are scandals going on. I am not surprised because there are persons amongst us, who even now worship Uncle Sam. There are persons who think that our great leaders are false gods.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with a very clear vision, secured our independence with a strong economic base. The other day, the hon. former Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao was saying that freedom and Independence were different from each other. Freedom means something and independence means something else. When we became free in 1947, the erstwhile imperialist powers did not cooperate with us to strengthen our independent and self-reliant economy. Shri Chandra Shekhar has mentioned that fact in one sentence. When Pandit Nehru approached the imperialist countries for a steel plant, they said, 'Why should you have a steel plant? We are here to supply your

requirements. That was their approach. They did not want India to be economically strengthened. Then, with the helping hands of the erstwhile Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Pandit Nehru strengthened our economic base and attached self-reliance.

We may have several interpretations about heavy industries nowadays. But, at the beginning, when we were fighting the imperialists, erstwhile rulers, it was quite essential and necessary to have heavy industries. Our steel plants, our heavy engineering industries, our defence production units and our oil wells which formed the basic industrial sector not only strengthened our economy but they were also a quite answer that India gave to those who wanted us to be dependent on them. That is why, when we stood up and led the Non-Alignment Movement, India's voice was heard by all.

We are celebrating here our Fiftieth Anniversary of Independence in a grand scale. At this time, it is hurting to hear on the Delhi Station of All India Radio some of the panel participants finding fault with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, forgetting this historical background.

I am not saying that nobody should criticize Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But from the manner in which these panel discussions are going on, it is clear that they are not fitting tributes to this festive occasion. That is what I would like to say. In spite of their non-cooperation in our developmental efforts, we went forward. I am concerned about the erstwhile rulers of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the name of globalisation, they want to grab the core sectors of our economy. In their vocabulary, globalisation means a new kind of colonisation. They want to come here and invest in joint ventures. We have liberalised our economy and we have opened our doors to them. Here, I would like to caution the Government. We welcome foreign investment and foreign technology. But we must not forget that the former imperialist forces are coming here under a new name and in a new way to exploit our market and to plunder wealth and to influence our political activities also. We should not forget that truth for a moment.

I do agree that in this present world we have to have some kind of global agreements. But excuse me when I say that we committed a mistake on 31 December, 1994 when we signed the agreement with the World Trade Organisation. There are clauses in that agreement which directly antagonised our essential interests. An argument was put forth as to how India can keep away from it when every nation is signing it. We could have argued against the clauses which threaten our Independence and sovereignty. The World Trade Organisation acts as a colonial super power. It is a super structure of the super power to influence the whole world. It tries to command our market and tries to curtail sovereignty and Independence of our nation.

Just go through the Intellectual Property Rights and the TRIPS. In the name of Intellectual Property Rights and TRIPS, they are questioning our right to produce and distribute pharmaceutical products. We are producing and distributing pharmaceutical products even in the pre-Independent India. Now, they say that they have got the patent rights. In this connection, petitions are being filed here.

Some quarters are consoling us by saying that even if we allow those claims of Intellectual Property Rights on pharmaceuticals, the prices would not go up. It may be right, but here, our sovereignty gets undermined. This great country of 96 crore people have the right to produce the pharmaceuticals and distribute it itself.

China did not sign the WTO. What did America do? They compelled China to sign by putting economic and trade blockade against China. They put pressures on China to put the signature. But what happened then? China did not yield to them and the great Americans has to withdraw the blockade unilaterally because China is not the loser. They are in business in the world market and their interest is not affected. So, Mr. Clinton was pressurised by the business community in America to withdraw the blockade unilaterally. That is happening in the world. So, signing of the WTO is all right, but we must see to it that our sovereignty is not curtailed by clauses of it.

The colonial forces are coming here, not to solve our problems. They have many problems. There is a rivalry among them for market. So, they want to solve their problems at our cost. That is their intention. That intention must be realised by our policy-makers. We have liberalised our economy, that is very good. The controls, permits and other obstacles in development are removed, it is good and correct; we approve of it. But new controls are coming from the colonialists. We have lifted our controls, but they are controlling our economy. They are controlling our trade. They are compelling us to change our import policy.

Our hon. Prime Minister is going to Washington. We have full confidence in him; and America would not be able to influence any of our policies in regard to international relations. The experience of CTBT showed us this. But here again, I would like to press the button of warning that in India also there are forces who want to ally with the multinationals abroad because we have our own multinationals and they have their own interests in aligning with the multinational colonial powers. So, pressure is on

changing our fundamental laws, our patent laws and import laws to the benefit of the multinational companies in implementing the Intellectual Property Rights here. All these pressures are coming from America, from the colonialists.

Mr. Clinton is more interested in our markets. He is more interested in changing our Law of Patents. He is more interested in joint ventures to grab the core sector of our industry. Mr. Clinton may want Kashmir to be an Independent State. But he is now more worried about the economic aspects. We have full confidence in our Prime Minister representing 90 crore of mighty Indian people. Any pressure from Mr. Clinton will not work. So, on economic issues, our vital interests should be safeguarded. Our self-reliance in the core sector of industries should be safeguarded. They want to come here by way of joint ventures. We have already allotted 51 per cent shares to them.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI V.V. RAGHAVAN : This Special Session of our House will conclude on Monday. I have another vital point to be brought before the House. That is about the main weaknesses of our economy.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI V.V. RAGHAVAN : Two minutes please. You have given the chances liberally.

MR. CHAIRMAN : How many times 'Two minutes?'

SHRI V.V. RAGHAVAN : I think, the electronic time device on your table works only when a new Member speaks. And the bell always tolls for us and not for senior Members. They are making speeches for hours and hours. Let me put one more point. I will obey you.

The main weakness of our economy now is lack of radical land reforms. I leave it to you. You are more experienced about land reforms in Bihar to take up the issue of radical land reforms. What is happening in the villages of Bihar? That will go on unless you give land to the rural tiller. So, the problem of land reforms is there. I leave it to you.

My point is that there is a Bill for agricultural workers. It is pending for the last 18 years. Several discussions took place with the Chief Ministers of the respective States, at various other levels, and with different organisations. The Bill is ready. But it is not seeing the light. It is not being adopted. Approximately 22 crore of our agricultural workers have no land. They have no shelter over their heads. They have no jobs. The cry for land, the cry for a shelter, and the cry for a job cannot be ignored. As long as you ignore the legitimate demands of the agricultural workers, India cannot go a step further. They are the people who feed us. They are the people who toil for us. Our agricultural productivity goes up. Our production goes up. Who are responsible? Those agricultural workers are responsible.

My learned friend, Shri M.P. Veerendra Kumar had been trying to introduce the Bill here. I am glad that he has now been give the portfolio of Labour in place of Finance. He is trying his best. But he alone cannot get this Bill passed here and implemented.

17.00 hrs.

So, the support of the whole House is essential for adopting this Agricultural Bill.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ANANT GUDHE (Amravati) : My name was there, in the previous list which was there half an hour before ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Such matters should not be raised in the House.

[English]

These things are not raised on the floor of the House. Please take your seat. Your turn will come. Please have patience.

SHRI ANADI CHARAN SAHU (Cuttack) : Sir, I am speaking on behalf of those wretched creatures, those seven persons, who were sitting throughout the night to participate in this debate. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have adjusted all the people. Please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*

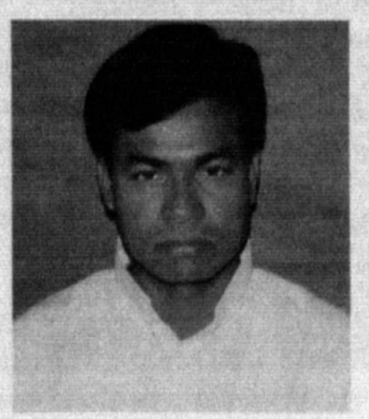
[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : In case of your party, preference cannot be given to Members, who sat here in the night.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. NAMGYAL (Ladakh) : Please fix the time limit for the speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Time limit can be observed by the members themselves. Now you are taking his time. Please observe the time limit on your turn.



SHRI BHAKTA CHARAN DAS

SHRI BHAKTA CHARAN DAS (Kalahandi) : Sir, at the very outset, I extend my congratulations to the Hon'ble Speaker on whose initiative this special session of Parliament has been convened in the golden jubilee year of our independence. Today is the time to pay our obeisances to the freedom fighters who made supreme sacrifices at the altar of India's freedom. It is also an appropriate occasion to take stock of our achievements and failures in these 50 years.

Sir, hon'ble Members have already spoken on several important issues and I would not like to repeat them. However, I would like to share some of my experiences. I agree that we have made significant achievements in the democratic set up. We have constructed link roads between cities and it has helped in the development of same cities. Urban population has also been benefited. There has been fast development of T.V. and telecommunications. But, we have not been able to construct link roads between villages nor have we been able to provide the facility of telephone and T.V. to all the villages in our country. After independence, we accepted every village as a unit. But we have not followed this principle and have rather excluded it from our national mainstream. Though slogans of removing poverty have constantly been raised in these fifty years, yet poverty has increased at a faster pace and it is being talked about in the international circles. We have failed to identify the poor and the backward regions of the country which has led to regional imbalances. There are movements like Bodoland, Uttrakhand, Telengana, Vidarbha, Chattisgarh and West Orissa movements. No effort has been made to ascertain the causes in this regard. We have not tried to give shape to it in our Five Year Plans. I do not hope that this debate here in House would yield any meaningful results. For a young man like me, it is quite painful. Shri Somnath ji has advocated for a strong centre but we should also ponder as to how the centre could be made strong.

17.05 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We should strengthen our rural base first to make India a strong country and in this endeavour we should accept and appreciate each other's ideas. It is not proper to think that our ideology is right and the Government formed by us would ensure the development of the country and if the Government is formed by others, the development of the country will not take place. When there are as many as five aspirants, to become Prime Minister, how these democratic institutions could be strengthened. Unless and until these democratic institutions are strengthened politically, the centre can not be made powerful.

Sir, five parties together should formulate a ten years plan in place of five year plan. The national leaders never think that they should hold their party's interests and the ambition of an individual to become Prime Minister at bay and instead formulate a ten years plan, by setting a target in this regard. They should identify the shortcomings and form a National Government and forgo party interests. We should also shun the caste and religious considerations. Poverty has not yet been removed. The farmers are still in a pathetic condition. The hon'ble Speaker has given a clarion call to usher in green revolution, but who will take the initiative? The poor masses are not in a position to usher in green revolution. All leaders exhort for the upliftment of the poor but these people are still poor. A handful of people, comprising five per cent population, be they members of district Panchayats, block Pramukhas, MLA's or MPs misguide and mislead the people causing division of opinion among them just as they have done with themselves. By giving different slogans, they are adding to the woes of poor masses. How could the green revolution be heralded in such circumstances? The Prime Minister gives a call to launch 'Styagrah' against corruption but how? I give my own example. We supported some 'Sarpanchs' and block 'Pramukhs' in Panchayat elections and after their victories in elections they asked us as to how they should survive, leave alone MLAs and M.Ps in this context. But they do not think at all about the poor masses. We make plans and policies in Parliament, Assemblies and district headquarters but they are not being implemented.

Sir, we solicit public support by giving provocative slogans in the name of caste and religion. I belong to a 'dalit' community but does anyone know this fact? I work for the welfare and upliftment of 'dalits' in my constituency, but I have never given any caste based slogans. Therefore, I say that as I win elections on the basis of my performance in my constituency, all other leaders could also win elections on their performance. We know that our leaders have got vision, initiative and commitment and we have been observing for the last four days that parties should be formed on the basis of service and sacrifices which an individual has made for the country. But, today election tickets are

given to those who offer hefty purses and can mobilise votes. I am refering to all parties and not to any particular one. Only the cronies of leaders get election tickets. Such people and a handful of bureaucrates who have invested a lot of money on their education, would make policies and rule the administration. These people who set up car manufacturing units claim to make the dreams of Gandhi ji come true. This is never possible. Therefore, the whole programme should be formulated at the village level. Village Sarpanch and block Pramukh should be roped in the formulation of policies and programmes. Five year plans should not be formulated in Delhi but in villages. In fact, the need is to formulate ten years plans instead of five year plans. I am pained to say that a person has got 4–5 businesses but lakhs of people do not have anything to eat. If you want to bring reforms after 50 years, then, it should be ensured that one job is given to one person. You intend to weed out corruption and pay just Rs. 1500/- to MPs who cannot lead a dignified life with this money. Will the bureaucrates and rich people do their job as per their will? whether they are bureaucrates, MLAs, or MPs they should be provided enough funds to sustain their families. If still people indulge in corruption they should be put in the jails and hanged. But we cannot make such an arrangement because we all know that elections are fought with huge funds. You must cleanse the electoral system. All leaders should go, deliver speech and solicit public support on their performance. Political parties makes small cadres and it pains me that Communist party has made such caders. There are some cadres even today. The people from J.N.U. and Delhi University used to come for making cadres. They used to dedicate whole of their life to it. They used to do research work and drafting throughout their life. What is happening today? Today who we consider cadre? No political party has that sort of political workers today as it was at the time of Independence, Every party should make efforts to make improvement in this regard. It is the time to think. It is the time for implementing the right to work. The public should get the information about what is happening at every crossing, Block or Panchayat or District Headquarters. The public must know as to what our leaders are doing and what our Government is doing. The right to information should be implemented as soon as possible. Paswanji was saying that caste system cannot be changed. Why can it not be changed? The Caste system is being maintained in this country. Here religion is at its own place. I do not want to define the religion because I am a youngman. Other people know better about the definition of religion. Religion is religion. Caste can be changed. You fix the time for it and say that we would make the downtrodden people a worthy man in 20 years. After that 'Varna System' should be abolished. We do not want to make them worthy men. We want to make them weak. We want to play politics with them. Governments change. They say that they gave them this much and so. Therefore they should caste their votes in their favour and should support their party. They are linked with different parties and different leaders at different times. Make them worthy human beings. Give the poor what is required for making them worthy human beings in 10 years, 15 years or 20 years. Abolish the caste system and Varna System after making them capable. We don't require any reservation. What benefit are we getting from it? Even after 50 years the educated people belonging to SCs and STs are not getting jobs and the roster for them has not been filled up. The same had happened with OBC reservation. How many people have got jobs. Nothing would be achieved from reservation. If the downtrodden people are given their self-respect for 20 years and caste system is abolished after that, then there would not be caste conflict between the poor and the rich. The downtrodden people would not consider themselves insignificant and neither they would take recource to violence. We should ensure that there is no attack on downtrodden people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am saying with pain that we all were discussing here about economic development and foreign capital but we are not giving importance to human being.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Your time of 14 minutes is over, now please conclude.

SH. BHAKTA CHARAN DAS : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when we are not giving importance to human beings that means we are not giving importance to all the villages of India and instead, we are emphasising only on technical development. In this situation, I fear, India would not be able to make progress. I want to say one thing more. Population control is necessary, keeping in view the future of the country. We should pass Agriculture Bill, Election Bill and Lok Pal Bill unanimously. If we cannot do so, there is no meaning of this debate. There should be improvement in health and education and the Agricultural System should be improved. If we strengthen, health, education, and agriculture, our farmers would become strong. If we make improvement in the health of all people, agricultural production would increase. Education should be made compulsory for all.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I request to all that a national agenda should be prepared in this special session and the party, which would come to power, should work on the basis of that national agenda in future.

SHRIMATI JAYAWANTI NAVINCHANDRA MEHTA

SHRIMATI JAYAWANTI NAVINCHANDRA MEHTA (Mumbai South) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to thank the Hon'ble Speaker for having convened this special Session on the occasion of golden Jubilee year of Independence and thereafter I would like to express my views on my subject. I have listened very carefully to the entire discussion held on various subjects during the last four days. None of the Speakers had spoken on gender discrimination. Hence I would like to express my views on this subject.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Session will prove to be a perfect stage for exchange of ideas and I am confident that whatever and outcome of this discussion, it will help build the future of our nation. The country would be led on a new path. I also feel that we will be able to ponder over our achievements and failures in fifty years of Independence. We have lost our due rights, self respect and self sufficiency and whatever we have achieved has given us despair and anxiety. There is certainly no doubt about it.

The culture and the old traditions of our country will guide the whole world. Our country has already expressed its confidence in republican form of Government. It has also given due recognition to equality of men and women. If both men and women are given equal importance, only then the nation can develop and once again golden era can dawn in the country. If due attention is not paid towards this 50 per cent segment of the society, development of our nation and the society can not take place. How can a nation prosper if its one half portion is paralysed? The gardener has to pay attention towards each and every plant in his garden. If we want to enliven our society, it is essential to pay attention towards women.

The plight of women has remained almost the same in these fifty years. That is why 50 per cent of the population is facing serious problems and is aggrieved. The right to live as free individuals of women has been violated. In the olden times, women used to fight in the battlefields. They knew how to use arms. They knew horse-riding. The annals of history are filled with stories of bravery of such brave women. They had well rounded personalities and also had the right to choose their life partner. However, after independence, the position of women in society suffered a setback. Some efforts were made to improve this situation but these did not prove to be very effective. We cannot deny this reality. Male-domination grew with this mentality and hence their condition deteriorated further. Women are not weak otherwise. In the present scientific-age also whenever given the chance, women have broken the man monopoly by taking part in mountaineering, flying aircrafts as pilots which were considered domains of men. On being given the opportunity, the women being intelligent and efficient can go far ahead and due to this apprehension, men keep trying to put restrictions on women.

Education is a must. If we happen to take a look at our rural life we find that food has been given priority over education. Hence an attempt has been made to involve girls in household work rather than to impart education to them. When the parents go out for work, they leave the responsibility of looking after the younger children to their daughters. It resulted in rise in illiteracy and starvation. The woman like Savitri Bhai Phule tried to make society realise the importance of education whilst facing the ire of society. History is witness to all this. Today illiteracy is responsible for breakdown of social fiber. The Government recognise the importance of literacy. The data regarding literacy of women reveals the low percentage and there is nothing untrue about it. We will have to ponder as to how the percentage of women literacy can be improved and what are the schemes which can be formulated for them.

The issue of 'medical facilities' for women is a very sensitive issue. It has been observed in our society that nutritious food like milk, curd and ghee are provided to sons whereas daughters are given gheeless bread, salt and chutney. We cannot forget this tendency. We will have to find out as to how such discrimination crept into our traditions. Women are blessed with the gift of motherhood. The responsibility of giving birth lies with them. The responsibility of raising the new generation also lies with them. Hence there is a need to give them more attention. However women being the victim of discrimination are unable to do all this. It is due to this discrimination that we are witnessing crimes like foeticide. I would like to submit that it has been stated in the Annual of UNICEF that 2 crore 90 lakh more women should have been alive in our country. On July 25, 1997, Shri Cadile Bilawi, Executive Director, UNICEF has given these data to the press council. It said that 2 crore 90 lakh women should have been alive in the country, who have died due to various reasons and due to which the number of women is less.

I would also like to submit that many types of atrocities are being committed on women like rape, caste slavery, exploitation by family, attempts to rob her of her beauty and eventually her life. These atrocities have constantly been increasing. Rape is not only the violation of basic human rights but also the violation of privacy and right to live. It is a heinous and barbaric crime from humanitarian and morality point of views. Rape of small girls is undoubtedly the most heinous crime. We'll have to see as to how we can ensure respect in society for these rape victims. There are separate reasons for atrocities committed on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Dalit women. They fall victim to politics of caste, language and religion. Was the molestation of women demanding a separate Uttarakhand not motivated by politics? We'll have to take all this into consideration. Gang rape, rape of 4–5 year old girls, rape of Sarpanch, the incidents of stripping women and parading them in villages all reeks of petty politics. Naina Sahani, Sarla Mishra and the murder of MLA's wife and then throwing her hacked body into river. All these murders were politically motivated. Hence I believe that this is time to think seriously in this regard.

Dowry is yet another social evil. Who is responsible for bride-burning or forcing girls to commit suicide? In yet another incident three sisters in Kanpur were forced to take the extreme step of committing suicide. Although the Government has enacted a law regarding dowry, yet it is hardly being implemented; we have to ponder over this point also. In the UNICEF Report entitled "Progress of Nation"; it has been stated that every year 5000 women fall victims to dowry deaths in India and 95 cases are filed in court every day. This is the data regarding women falling victim at the alter of dowry.

Prostitution is also a blot for women. No women goes into this profession of her own will. This situation of exploitation of women is very serious and merits concern. There are many such gangs in our country involved in kidnapping of women, immoral traffic of women and getting prosperous by way of taking commission. If a woman earns Rs. One Thousand by selling her body, she is forced to give Rs. 700/- to the people who run this trade. Thus she is left with only Rs. 300/- to meet her requirements and satisfy her hunger.

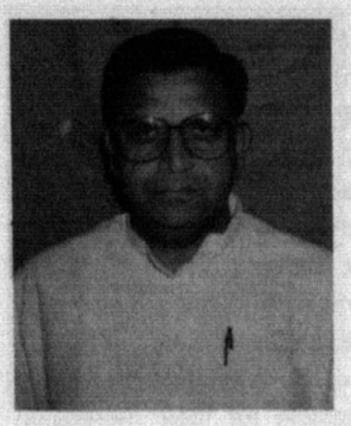
At the same time, if Devdasi system is still continuing in our society even after 50 years of independence, then I would say, that it is the darkest blot besmirching our country.

After independence, we people as well the Government made many declarations and showed commitment towards fulfilling them. In 1950, the constitution of India provided an equal status to our women folk. They were given equal rights to pursue creative and constructive activities. We fomulated many welfare schemes in 1971 under the title "Towards Equality" and set many targets in this regard. During the sixth Plan, We formulate some policies also aimed at providing adequate facilities in respect of education, health, family planning and job opportunities. In 1953, a Central Social Welfare Board was set-up. In 1985, we made endeavours for woman and child development. Moving ahead in this direction, we took further steps in 1992 and set-up a National Woman Commission to ensure justice to woman. But inspite of our all these efforts, we must accept that no light was thrown on the existing discrimination against women which has been responsible for their repression and atrocities.

These days generally women are taking up jobs. But contribution of women, particularly of house wives is never reckoned.

Educated and serving women also suffer injustice in the matter of their promotion. Even at the time of appointments to the higher posts, prejudiced attitude of men comes in the way as an hinderance. Unemployment is increasing among women also. They do not get even their rightful benefits. They are not given jobs for the fear of maternity leave. The strength of women has come down in the textile industry which substantiates my submission. You will find on page No. 123 of classification of women worker that out of 100 workers there were 551 men and only 93 women. The percentage of workers in the population of our country also indicates towards the reduction of job opportunities for women. In 1961 the percentage of job opportunities for women in rural areas was 31.42 which came down to 26.79 per cent in 1991–92. This is a significant reduction in the job opportunities for women in our rural areas. In the Urban area it was 11.16 in 1961 which has come down to merely 9.24 per cent today. This clearly indicates the injustice which has been done with women in the matter of employment also.

We have raised many issues of national importance in this House. The MPs contribute a lot in the policy formulation. We have been fortunate enough to represent 90 crore people of our country which has increased our responsibility tremendously. The female population in our country is 45 crore and this is our duty to ensure justice and honour to them. We should make efforts to provide them adequate opportunities so that they can play their role in nation building. If Bill to provide 33 per cent reservation to women is passed soon, it will help a lot in upiftment of women and if our dreams are realised, it would be a matter of great happiness for us. Therefore, let us come together and lay the foundation for our next fifty years programmes. It should be our best endeavour to materialise the spirit behind our ancient concept of 'Ardhanareeshwar' and bring equality of sex in our society during the next fifty years. With these words, I conclude.



SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is a special debate we are having on the historic occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of our freedom. The achievement of freedom was the culmination of a longdrawn battle and movement of the Indian National Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi who was rightly called the Father of the Nation. But, it is a matter of shame that there is some sinister design now to denigrate Gandhiji and to undermine his philosophy and all that which also was found its echo in this very House day before yesterday. This is all condemnable. Even at the State function held on 13th night at Vijay Chowk, there was no reference to Gandhiji at all, but a reference was made to certain other freedom fighters.

Sir, yesterday, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao had made a very brilliant analysis. He elaborately and brilliantly analysed how *Gandhism* is having its increasing relevance today, not only in India but in the whole of the world and in the days to come also.

I pay my respectful regards and glowing tributes to the sacred memory of Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru, Netaji Subhas Bose, Chandrashekhar Azad and other galaxy of leaders and a numberless freedom fighters on whose sacrifices our freedom became possible.

At the same time, I would also like to mention that since Independence, the progress that we have made is very impressive. It is an all round progress in different fields. That was possible due to the efforts of our farmers, peasants, work force, scientists, etc., under the guidance of, of course, the political leaders in authority and others. They also deserve our gratitude and appreciation.

Sir, this is very special Session of Parliament in which we are having debates on a very composite subject having different sections, sub-subjects. One of them is infrastructure. And, I would like to concentrate on the subject of infrastructure.

In this regard, I would like to quote Madam Indira Gandhi who was our great Prime Minister and who did a lot in eradicating poverty. She had launched a programme on '*garibi hatao*'. She said:

> "We did not sacrifice and suffered hardships for long year merely to replace foreign masters but to be able to serve our people, to raise their standards of living and to reach out to the poorest, weakest and the remotest."

She not only said so but she meant it from the core of her heart. In addition to this, she launched several programmes with the objective to alleviate poverty, to eradicate poverty, and to raise the standard of common man, the poor man in our country.

Today, we have a record GDP growth rate of seven per cent for the last three years or so. Of course, I am having apprehension about it whether we would be able to reach the same level of growth rate this year since the report says that with regard to industrial growth, it has come down to 5 per cent to 6 per cent from 10 to 12 per cent that was registered earlier. Of course, the statement of the hon. Finance Minister is also on records that in the next three to four years, it will be not only seven per cent but it will be further raised to 8 per cent or 9 per cent or 10 per cent. Recently, the World Bank also, in its report, has expressed satisfaction about the growth rate that we are having in our country. They have said that if it goes on like this, if it is continued like this, then in another seven years time, that is, by the year 2005, India's percentage in regard to people below poverty line (BPL) will be reduced to mere 6.3 per cent. It is as high as one-third now. In some States, it is 33 per cent or 40 per cent. and like that. Sir, in my State Orissa, the percentage of people living BPL is even more than 55 per cent.

There are two types of calculations on this. Prof. Lakadaawala formula and DRDA took surveys in this regard. But at the same time, when we have a lot or rejoices about our freedom and achievements, it is an occasion for all of us to have introspection. We should not only have introspection but also self-introspection as well as self-reforms. We have to see where things have gone wrong and then take corrective measures accordingly so that our economy is brought back on the right track and our growth rate becomes even faster.

That way, though we have achieved a lot but our achievements in comparison with that of other countries, with even smaller countries in the South-East is not very significant. That way, we feel that there is no room for us to be complacent. So, we should strive very hard to achieve further growth rates, etc.

Then I come to infrastructure. As you know, in infrastructure, power, telecommunication, transport—road transport, rail transport, air transport and waterways—will come. In the social sector, health and education will come. India being an agricultural country, a country of farmers and a country of villagers, agriculture is the mainstay of our economy. Population growth is a cause of concern for everybody. Our agricultural growth rate is not matching the population growth rate. That is also a matter of great concern. That is way, irrigation and fertilizers also should come under infrastructure.

Coming to power, as you know, power holds the key to the success of any country, for its progress and prosperity. Without power, without electricity, we cannot move an inch forward. The present scenario with regard to power is depressing. It is disheartening. Now we are having an 18 per cent power shortage in our country. This shortage will be raised to 25 per cent in the years to come. That is, the peak load demand gap will be 25 per cent. I was astonished to come across a news item that India was thinking to get about 3000 MW of power from Pakistan. This is really something shameful. In the field of power, at the time of our Independence in 1947, what we were generating was very very meagre. It was less than 2000 MW—something like 1747 MW. Today it is as high as 85,000 MW. Therefore, we are generating fifty times more. This is the 50th year of our Independence and the power generation has gone up fifty times higher . But, at the time of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of our Independence in 1972, the per megawatt power generation cost was one crore rupees. The thumb rule was: 'One crore rupees; one megawatt power'. Now, by the time we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, it has gone up to Rs. 4 crore per megawatt. Today, despite the achievements we have made, what is the position with regard to the per-head power consumption? In India right now per head power consumption is only 320 KWH. The world average is 2216 KWH. Even our neighbouring country Pakistan has a higher rate of per-head power consumption. There, it is 416 KWH. In China, it is 719 KWH. Of course, in USA, it is 10,000 KWH, and in countries like Sweden, it is 12,000 KWH. From this we can see what a long distance we have to travel and how much we have to cover, that too, very speedily. Because of the power shortage, there is industrial sluggishness today. Our industrial growth is only five to six per cent. When there is low capacity utilisation in industrial sector, that has its adverse impact on our economy. Prices of the industrial products will also go up. There is 22 per cent transmission and distribution loss in our country. It is somewhat an international record. The world average of transmission and distribution loss is 10 per cent.

If we bring down our T&D losses to that level, naturally, we will be saving 8,000 MW of power. One megawatt of power conserved is equivalent to production or generation of one megawatt of power. This means a saving of Rs. 4 crore. What is the condition today? Today, miserable conditions is prevailing in our State Electricity Boards. They are incurring annual losses of Rs. 8,000 crore and the accumulated loss is Rs. 18,000 crore. This is the background.

In the Eighth Plan, we could not achieve the target. We could achieve only forty-five per cent of the target fixed. In the Ninth Plan, in this background of failures, we have fixed a target of 57,000 MW of power generation. For that, the amount of money required is mind boggling. We will require Rs. 2,28,000 crore. Where is the money coming from?

Let us have an introspection about our failures. We had pinned a great deal of hope on the private sector participation in the power scenario. That has tremendously failed. It has miserably failed. Only Enron came to Maharashtra and another firm came to Karnataka. What about AES? Late Biju Patnaik, the then Chief Minister of Orissa, on the occasion of his birthday, made a fanfare on laying of foundation stone of AES for two units in the Ib Valley in my constituency. I do not find AES coming anywhere in that area today, although three years have elapsed meanwhile. This is the fate!

There has to be more public spending in the power sector. Without that, we cannot achieve the targets. That is why, the World Bank report has suggested for higher investment in infrastructure. The Indian economy has reached a stage where infrastructure deficiencies are proving to be stumbling blocks in speeding up expansion. Plans to transform India into another Asian tiger are bound to flounder because of a severe shortage of power, transport and communications.

Let us be practical. There is political uncertainty in India. This type of coalition politics coalition Govt. does not inspire confidence among the people in our country, more so among the foreign investors. This is the hard reality. What is needed? Again, they are not missionaries. They are not coming here on a mission to serve us. They are commercial organisations. They come here to make profits. They are not assured of that profit. Restructuring of our SEBs, tariff structures, setting up of a regulatory authority and many reforms are needed in our power sector. A sense of confidence has got to be created. How can it be done? It is now time on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebrations of our independence that there is some national consensus about our new economic policy, with emphasis

on power generation, development of strong infrastructure and at the same time on Gandhian programmes to give more importance to cottage industries and small scale industries. It was analysed and demanded yesterday by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. Gandhism as I said, has increasing relevance not only to India but to the entire world today.

Now, I come to the transport sector. The road conditions are very unsatisfactory. The growth in the transport sector—both in road transport and rail transport—has not been able to cope up with the demand. The allotment to this sector has been reduced by fifty per cent. Earlier, in the Fifth Plan, 6.3 per cent of the total allocation of public sector was there for roads. Now, it is only three per cent.

In the telecommunication sector also the targets have not been achieved. Half of the villages are outside the telecommunication net work. Shri Rajiv Gandhi had a vision. The Technology Mission was founded by Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He had a dream of taking India into 21st century with a sense of confidence and self-reliance in various sectors, including the telecommunication sectors.

It is time to see that we become self-sufficient in the fertilizer sector. The Finance Minister's definition of self-reliance does not hold much water. Now, although we are self-sufficient in food. Because this sector is not being properly managed. We had to import two million tonnes of wheat which is a blow to our concept of self-reliance. This has demolished our pride of self-reliance.

It is good that we are having a debate on the composite subject. But there should be a debate outside also about our problems a public debate. I hope that, after this debate, something positive will emerge. We cannot achieve anything unless there is unanimity and unless there is consensus amongst us on these key issues.

We need huge funds for building infrastructure facilities. Without a strong infrastructure base, it is impossible to build a strong India. According to the experts, for building a strong infrastructure base, we have to spend money to the tune of seven lakh and fifty thousand crore of rupees by the year 2001–2002. In terms of US dollars, it comes to 215 billion. From where will we get this sort of money? Public funding should be there. At the same time we have to create conditions, we have to inspire confidence so that private investment comes to our country. We should have a debate on the economic policy and reach a national consensus on the economic policy. It should sufficiently lay emphasis on infrastructure building.

Sir, I conclude my speech by quoting what Shri Rajiv Gandhi once said:

"As we build today so will be the tomorrow.

Together we will build for an India of the 21st Century.

Together we will transform what needs transformation.

Together we will face challenges and obstacles to progress.

Together we will create an India that is strong, wise and great.

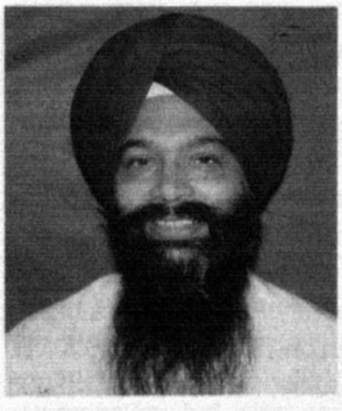
—a flame of peace and tolerance".

With these words I conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI AMAR PAL SINGH (Meerut) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have got a point of order. Sir, If House sits for the whole night once in a year as it happened while discussing the rail budget, then it is manageable but if it sits continuously for two successive nights, things will go unmanageable. Yesterday House sat the whole night and adjourned at 6 A.M. today. Right now, you may see, there are only eight members present in the House. Members keep on coming and going but our parliamentary staff suffers the worst. Yesterday they worked whole night and today also they have to be on duty in the night. In these circumstances there is every possibility of their falling ill. Are we going to sit tonight again?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have got the list of those Members who sat in the House throughout night. They were given 10 minutes each but none of them took less than 20 minutes. This is something like a person who stands at the gate of a train's compartment and does not allow others to enter.



PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA (Patiala) : For the last few days we have been discussing our achievements and failures during the last 50 years *i.e* since our independence. I would like to thank you for giving me also a chance to join the on going discussion. If we undertake a comparative study of today's India and the India of 1947, we think that we have many achievements to our credit. Foodgrain which was only 50 million tonnes in 1950 has gone upto 198 million tonnes today. The irrigation facility

which was available for 23 million hectares of land in 1947 is now available for 80 million hectares of land. The industrial development has gone upto 302 per cent from a meagre 18.3 per cent. The textile production has increased from 1215 meters to 17250 meters. The production of sugar has gone upto 15.45 million tonne from 1.1 million tonne. Power generation has increased from 1.7 MW. to 86.3 MW. We have opened several schools and constructed many roads. But whether our achievements match to our potential? Whether we have tapped our potential to the optimum level? Whether we have fulfilled the expectations and demands of our society? When we think of these questions, we find ourselves far behind from the targeted goal. We lag far behind when compared with other countries like China, Japan and Korea who attained their freedom simultaneously with our country.

So far as poverty is concerned, the situation is more pathetic. Every third Indian citizen is living below poverty line and 36 per cent people of this country do not have cloths to wear, bread to eat and home to live. The illiteracy among poor people is 50 percent. India constitutes half the number of illiterate people in the whole world. Around 4 crore people are unemployed. The per capita income in India is 340 dollars, whereas it is 26730 dollars in Singapore, 23,000 dollars in Hong Kong and 9730 dollars in Korea. We feel ashamed of discussing the issues like starvation deaths in Kalahandi and deaths due to floods because even 50 years after independence these are common phenomenon and we are still unable to cater to the basic needs of our people. We do not have sufficient number of schools, hospitals and roads. As Panigrahiji was telling just now the roads in the country are in such a dilapidated condition that every year around 60 thousand persons are killed in road accidents and our vehicles consume 14–15 per cent more fuel due to the worse condition of roads.

As regards the position of coal is concerned, I would like to say that since nationalisation of coal mines, the production of coal has increased three times whereas its prices have risen twelve times during this period. In 1972 the Government had made an investment of Rs. 252 crore in coal sector and now Rs. 19,500 crore have been invested. But neither consumer nor producer were benefited by it and same condition prevails in the case of petroleum products.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in comparison to other organisations of the world, the cost of oil production in ONGC is quite low. The cost of production of Mobile oil is 7.73 dollars, it is 10.23 dollars in Shell, 10.12 dollars in Burma Petroleum and 5.34 dollar in ONGC. In spite of low cost of production, in comparison to other countries of the world, prices of oil in India are quite high. Why it is so? Prices of petrol and diesel are rising due to the present price mechanism and wrong price administration policy and faulty price mechanism of the Government. The Agriculturists who are already burdened with debts are bearing the brunt of this hike in prices of diesel. The Government is not paying attention towards making improvements in price mechanism or finding out the reasons as to why the prices are high here in spite of low cost of production and oil pool deficit is also increasing. Therefore, instead of increasing prices of oil every now and then new policy should be formulated for improving managerial efficiency in this sector and price mechanism of oil product. In our country power shortage is upto 17 per cent in peak hours.

18.00 hrs.

In comparison to other countries transmission losses are also high in India which is to the tune of 21.80 whereas in Germany it is 4.87, in USA 8.97 and in UK 9.20. But it seems that efforts are not being made to improve the situation.

35 projects of previous Five Year Plans are lying incomplete. Their cost has escalated from Rs. 23,504 crore to Rs. 46,191 crore. This cost has been escalating at a rate of 96 per cent. One hydel project namely Thein Dam project was started in 1969. Its original estimated cost was Rs. 85 crore at that time which has escalated to Rs. 3000 crore and it has to be completed by 1988. But it will be completed only when an amount of Rs. 400 crore is given to Punjab as per the commitment made by hon. Prime Minister otherwise its cost will escalate further. At present, there are 35 projects to be completed. Why this situation emerged? I would like to say something about it. I feel that imbalanced approach has been adopted during the last 50 years and our plans were not proper as a result of it the poor become poorer and the rich became more rich. Only 10 per cent of the plan allocation reached to actual beneficiaries and rest of the amount was misused due to corruption in administration, inefficiency and for serving potential interests. Whatever progress has been made so far, that has not been with a view to fulfil the requirement of the people but just to serve the political interests. I am very sorry to say that during last 50 years, we could not achieve the targets of even a single Five Year Plan.

The amount of loss has also increased due to unproductive expenses like foreign tours etc. Recently crores

of rupees have been spent on tours of officers of Power Committee. Foreign companies asked them as to whether Indian Government had enacted law regarding promoting privatisation, they replied in negative. Then they asked as to what was the use of that tour?

In the same way I would like to say something about consumption of petrol by official vehicles. The figures regarding consumption of petrol by Government sector and private sector have been sought at times but the Government avoids to furnish them because there reveal the actual position. Officers have 5–6 vehicles at their disposal which are misused. In the same way telephones are misused. We can alleviate 50 per cent poverty of the country by cutting this unproductive expenditures.

I would also like to say that poverty can not be alleviated until due attention is paid towards agriculture. What is the position of agriculture today. Days are gone when agriculture was considered the best among all professions and second preference was given to trade and service was considered the last option. But what is the position of agriculture today? Now a days no one wants to form relationship with people in agricultural profession and prefer service class. 70 per cent population depends upon agriculture but their contribution in GDP reveals our position. Then how can we alleviate poverty? In 1952 contribution of agriculture in GDP was 53 per cent but now by 1997 it has reduced to 25.1 per cent. What could be the position of economy if contribution of 70 per cent population reduced to 50 per cent of their earlier contribution. Now farmers are heavily indebted. I suggest that concrete measures should be taken for development and progress of agriculture after discussion held during these four days so that poverty could be alleviated.

The Government of India talks about crop insurance every now and then but so far nothing has been done in this regard.

The Government gives assurances in every matter and the crop insurance should cover the damage of crops due to floods as well.

SHRI JAGDAMBI PRASAD YADAV (Godda) : Nothing has been mentioned about agriculture and rural development in this budget, which really needed our attention.

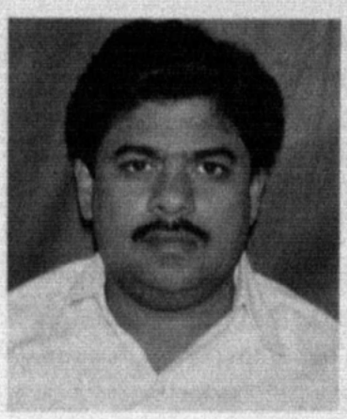
PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA : My hon. friend has rightly mentioned this. The Government has not formulated any plan for the alleviation of poverty and welfare of 70 per cent population. Arrangements should be made for implementing crop insurance and solving debt problem of farmers. Farmers have to run from pillar to post for bank loans whereas a huge amount is deposited in foreign banks by rich people of our country which is lying unutilised. I met the Minister of Agriculture and asked for setting up an agricultural research centre in Punjab, which is an agricultural State. But I was told that not a single paise has been allocated for agriculture research in the current budget. Improvements should be made in this situation of stagnation in agricultural production. Agro-based industries should be set up and improvised technologies introduced. Last year wheat was procured at a rate of Rs. 300 and sold at a rate of Rs. 900. Farmers and consumers, both were duped and mediators took away the fruit of farmers labour. The Government agencies are acting as middlemen and betraying both farmers as well as consumers. This should also be taken care of.

I would like to tell about our shortcomings in the field of agriculture. I understand that our country was known throughout the world for character, non-violence and truth during the pre-independence era but today it is eighth most corrupt nation in the world. This has to be pondered over. I am just concluding. Our party is small and we have time constraint also. We made a valuable contribution towards this country. But we did not get our just share for the role played by us in freedom struggle. I have some suggestions to make. The rulers of this country could not grasp the true essence of the unity in diversity. We feel proud that we all are Indians despite being Bengalis, Punjabis, Madrasis or Biharis. We feel proud that despite different languages and cultures, India is one. Mahatama Gandhi understood it well. When certain people organised upper classes and others organised certain regions, Mahatama Gandhiji organised the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. He organised the people belonging to different regions and this led to the freedom struggle. This fact has not been realised by anybody.

Mahatama Gandhi and Nehru were not immature. When the country got independence Nehruji declared at Chandni Chowk in Delhi that he would honour the Sikhs. Pandit Nehru had said that the Sikhs of this country would be given a special status so that they can enjoy the fruits of

freedom. But what has really happened? You can see yourself that there is no portrait of any Sikh installed even in the Central Hall. Whether the Sikhs have played no role in the independence struggle. If at all any Sikh is to be honoured, I feel it is Master Tara Singh who is to be honoured. The Britishers played a mischief as they wanted to divide the country into three parts by devising a three nation theory. But Master Tara Singh did not let the Britishers divide the country into three parts. He dishonoured the Pakistani Flag on the Pakistani soil itself. Had the leaders and the country supported Master Tara Singh, Pakistan would have never been created. Mahatama Gandhi had said that we have won the first war of independence with the cooperation of Sikhs. But today we do not find any portrait of Kharag Singh anywhere despite his valuable contribution towards independence struggle. Why we or Barnalaji are compelled to say all this? Why only Akali Dal is saying that apology should be tendered and guilty should be punished for the Sikh massacre of 1984 in which thousands of Sikhs were slaughtered. Even this House had observed two minutes silence to regret that incident. All members have gone through the contents of this book wherein Sikhs have been branded militants. It is a matter of regret that the confidence of minorities has not been won and there is a sense of alienation among them. The law of the land is same for everybody. I feel that the confidence of minorities can be restored. We speak a lot about minorities but when it comes to issues like water dispute, language and even dispute over capital nothing much is done. There is no State in the country which does not have its own capital but it is unfortunate that Punjab has to share the capital with other State. Even Bhakhra Dam is also not under the control of the State. If we want to win the confidence of the minorities we will have to change this attitude. Bharatiya Janata Party is the only party which has fielded a Sikh candidate in Madhya Pradesh and included another Sikh in the Delhi Government. The leaders of other parties speak about minorities but this is done only for politics of vote. Nobody got a share in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh or in Maharashtra. The main reason is that we are few in number and when resentment would increase, situation like Punjab, Kashmir, Nagaland and Uttarakhand would emerge. There would be a struggle and security forces would be sent to suppress them. When people are killed, the Human rights issue is raised. If we want to maintain peace in the country it is essential to win the confidence of people. We have to realise the dreams of our martyrs and make efforts to mobilise the masses to remove poverty.

With these words, I conclude.



DR. K.P. RAMALINGAM

[English]

DR. K.P. RAMALINGAM (Tiruchengode) : Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am a Member born in free India. I have read about Independence only in history books. Now, I am here representing my people.

The Parliament is now making a history by celebrating the 50th year of our Independence as a moment for introspection and self-study. I express my deep appreciation for the right step taken by the Parliament of India. We have assembled to look back and think ahead. This Special Session is the brains child of the Presiding Officers of this August House. I want to specially thank our hon. Speaker and hon. Deputy Speaker for their initiatives.

18.16 hrs.

[SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE *in the Chair*]

India, what we see today is 50 years old. Previously, there was no Nation-State called India. Free India was born only on the 15th August, 1947. We know from history that India was a land of 56 Kingdoms. Later on, due to lack of unity, it came under the Mughals. Then it became a part of the British empire. So, what we see today as India was not there earlier. Mughal India was there. British India was there and now we see free India that completes fifty years. This was possible due to our political unity.

Fifty years ago we won political freedom; we won the right to rule the country ourselves. We have believed in our political system. So, we have maintained political unity all these years.

Only with political unity, we can ensure effective administration. We must give new direction to our Executive set up. It is high time that technocrats are made Administrators. Why is the country not able to meet out all technical efforts as compared with the European and other

countries in the world? Still this country is governed by bureaucrats, that is, IAS Officers. For, example, there is no point in IAS people going abroad to see the modern slaughter house equipment. Yesterday, there was an article in *'The Pioneer'* stating that One team of IAS officers is going abroad to see the modern slaughter house technology. What is the use of IAS officers going and learning the modern technology, then coming back to India and posted somewhere else in some other department? No veterinary expert is going there. So it is time that the technocrats take the leadership in administration. We need such administrative reforms both at the Centre and the States.

We call our nation a Union of States. We talk of cooperative federalism in its absence. Considering the growing dimensions of Parliamentarism, considering the growing demands of political pluralism, federal structure alone can permit National Governments. Then only our nation will be assured of political stability. That is real National Security.

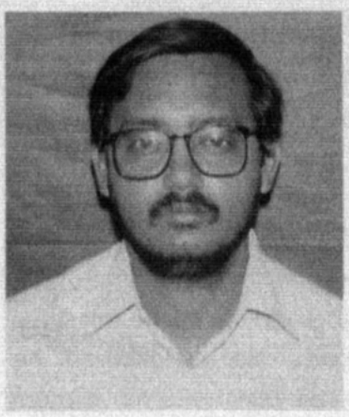
Progress in civilisation needs security and tolerance. That is why I lay stress on security and tolerance.

Sir, this is not a moment for political speeches. This is not a moment for statistics. All are there in the perspective papers. What we want is introspection. Let us not exchange information. Let us share thoughts and the concern of our hearts. We have come to an era of coalitions. Major groups on both sides must have tolerance. Coalitions fail because of impatience. Machinations come always from the impatient losers. Coalitions fail because we fail it. Where do we find an answer? It is not in one-party rule. It is not in pseudo-nationalism. The answer lies in respecting each other. The answer lies in listening to divergent views.

I earnestly feel that we must go for a federal set up. In a country like India, in order to preserve the identity of the national races, we must establish real federalism because Constitution can be a vehicle of transformation only with federalism. I say this with all sincerity and this is my appeal. Let us think it over.

Nehruji said, 'Our Constitution has to be flexible'. Ambedkar said, 'Liberty and Equality cannot be divorced from Fraternity'. Let this country be united for ever with Fraternity.

To ensure this, federal structure can show the way. This is my loud thinking on this golden occasion.



SHRI SAMIK LAHIRI

SHRI SAMIK LAHIRI (Diamond Harbour) : Thank you Madam, for giving me the opportunity to express my views on this auspicious occasion of the Fiftienth Year of our Independence. This discussion is very much important not only due to this reason that we are discussing the things on the Fiftieth Year of our Independence, it is also very much important because we are discussing the whole thing at the end of a century and we are waiting for the next century.

In today's world, as you know Madam, the things are changing regularly, the technological developments are taking place. Today's technology is obsolete for tomorrow and we are living in this kind of changing world. We are trying to build-up our nation and we have tried to build-up our nation in the last 50 years. If we really want to build up our nation for the next century, what we have to do?

During the past 50 years there are many aspects, but I do not want to go into detail of each and every aspect.

Rather I will try to confined my speech only to the question of education and to the development of our country. Madam, you know, it is the experience of human civilization that education is the basis for development. I can quote or for that matter anyone can quote, a lot of examples how a nation could achieve development after achieving full literacy. There are a lot of examples. Today we are trying to give the example of West. What was the so-called success story? Two things have taken place. One is, there is full literacy. In our country, our leaders have not emphasized this. It is not true that it was not unknown to all our leaders. It is also not true. Our leaders knew it very well that literacy and education is the most important thing on which we have to bank. But what happened? Even in the 1938 Haripura Congress Plenary Session, what did the Sahir Hussain committee emphasize? It emphasized that after achieving Independence, for seven years, there would be free and compulsory education for everyone. But what happened after 1947? Was it unknown to our leaders? Was it unknown to all our leaders who have ruled our country for the last 50 years? It was not unknown at all. Why is this like that?

Today, 350 million illiterates are living in our country. It is even higher then the population of 1947. Why is it so?

Yes, we have achieved a lot. We have launched INSAT. We have achieved a lot in the technological arena. We have achieved a lot in several fields. We have achieved self-reliance in foodgrains. But still now we are not in a position to combat the needs of today, only due to lack of education, lack of literacy.

Madam, I can quote several things on several aspects. I would like to say just one thing. I went to a village. There, a few people were asking for a school. That village was a very remote village. There was no water facility.

18.28 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

There was no electricity facility. I told them that instead of asking for more water, more sanitation facilities and more electricity, why they were asking for a school. To this, an illiterate villager replied that it would decide the fate of our future generation. So, this is even known to a villager also who is a very illiterate person that it would build the fate of our nation, it would build the fate of our country. But why are we lagging behind? Even the Kothari Commission in its report in 1968 categorically cautioned the Government.

MR. SPEAKER : You have taken 13 minutes.

SHRI SAMIK LAHIRI : No, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : Time passes very quickly. You do not know. You are so much engrossed with your points. I can understand that.

SHRI BASAVARAJ RAYAREDDI (Koppal) : Let him continue for another 10 minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : There must be some confusion between the person who was presiding before you and yourself.

SHRI SAMIK LAHIRI : "If we have to continue our dependence on this programme—this programme means, the programme which has been followed after Independence for liquidation of illiteracy—we may not achieve our goal even by 2000 A.D."

Now we are nearing 2000 A.D. The Kothari Commission has cautioned us but we have not taken steps to eradicate illiteracy. I can quote several things. Shri Amritha Sen has written a book. The name of the book is 'Economic Development and Social Opportunity'.

In this book specifically he showed that those Asian and particularly East Asian tigers, that is Hong Kong, Thailand and South Korea, who placed importance on literacy and on basic education have reaped the benefit of increased economic growth as well as healthier human development indicators. Now we are trying to bring the technological progress. We are trying for that technological advancement. But without having the basic facilities of education, without providing the basic facilities of education, how can we forge ahead? After fifty years still now we are crying. Before fifty years we cried for it. In 1938 in the Haripura Congress Plenary Session we cried for it. We continued our cry for education.

I just want to draw your attention to the subsidy paper which has been prepared by the Government. There, it has been categorically stated that a big amount of subsidy is there for education. Is it subsidy? Should it be the view of the Government that the expenditure for education is the subsidy? Can we build the nation, can we forge ahead, can we develop the nation to face the challenges of the technological development? It is not possible.

Sir, I will not take much time. But the problem is that everybody knows the problem, I do not believe that our leaders do not know the problem and I do not believe that the past leaders did not know the problem. The problem is that basic thrust of our economy is for the upper classes. That is the main problem. Even today what are we trying to do through economic development and liberalisation? The basic thrust is for the upper strata people and not for the downtrodden people, and we are trying to develop our economy for the upper class people and that is the main problem. So we have to change the direction. We have to change the thrust of our economy. Unless and untill we change the direction of our economy we cannot change the scenario of the education; we cannot achieve the goal of education for all.

So, my submission to the Government and to this august House is that please try to look to the downtrodden people. Still now 350 million people are illiterate and only four per cent can get entered into Universities. Thousands and crores of people are still now waiting outside the schools, outside the arena of the educational institutions. Please look into them. In this way only we can pay homage to the great freedom fighters who have sacrificed their lives for the noble cause, for the freedom of our country.

With these words, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you very much. I stand corrected. You did not take more than ten minutes. Thank you very much for that. You took less than ten minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Sir, that is something laudable.

MR. SPEAKER : I think that is the reflection of your leadership.

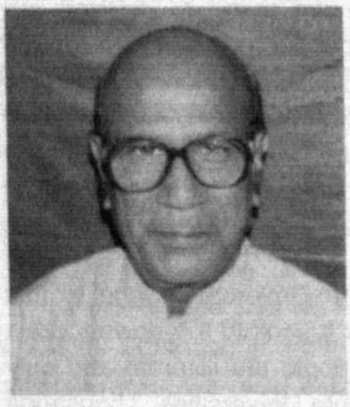
I have taken the sense of the House and the situation. Our officers, particularly the Parliamentary Reporters, Chamber Attendants, Table Officers did not even have time to go home this morning and they have to be here continuously. It is little too much. Secondly there is the Prime Minister's dinner at 8 O'clock. Today the House will adjourn at 8.30 p.m. Tomorrow we will sit through the whole day and the whole night so that some rest is available for our officers and the Members of Parliament tonight. We now have almost two hours. If everybody sticks to ten minutes and it must be so, we will have, at least, twelve more speakers tonight. It is a good number.

Shri Sat Mahajan to speak now. I will not allow beyond ten minutes to anybody.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Sir, what you are prompting us to do is to arrive late at Prime Minister's dinner. That dinner is at 8 O'clock.

MR. SPEAKER : It is just two minutes' walk. I do not think everything can be finished in half-an-hour by those who go first.

Shri Sat Mahajan to speak strictly for ten minutes.



SHRI SAT MAHAJAN

SHRI SAT MAHAJAN (Kangra) : Hon. Speaker, Sir, I rise to tell the tale of woe of the hill people. Yesterday Dr. Rongpi, Shri Manavendra Shah of Tehri and Shri Madhav Choudhary were the three persons who highlighted the problems of the hills.

18.35 hrs.

[Shri P.M. Sayeed *in the Chair*]

Sir, the entire hill area constitutes six per cent of the total population of India while we represent one-fifth of the country's area. So, there is a great disparity between the population and the area. They have been asking for reservation and protection of Scheduled Castes, OBCs, women and minorities.

Sir, through you, I seek the protection of the hill people. I tell you what has happened. The book published on this 50th anniversary presents that in 1974, 28 per cent of the population of Punjab was living below the poverty line. Now, it is 11 per cent. There is a decrease of 17 per cent. Haryana had 35 per cent of population living below the poverty line. Now, the figure is 25 per cent. There is a decrease of 10 per cent. The decrease is 34 per cent in respect of Delhi and 17 per cent in respect of Chandigarh. But the decrease in the number of people living below poverty line in Himachal Pradesh is only two per cent.

We are hard working people. We have natural resources. We have tourist resorts. But this is happening because our planning has been tied up with the plains. What is the difference in laying a road in Himachal Pradesh or the hill and plains? We have to spend five times more then what is spent in the plains. Our climate differs. While people die out of sun-stroke in the plains, our people are dying under the snow due to cold bite. So, the things are totally different.

I just want to point out that the most important thing for us is the tourism. For tourism, the communication is very important. What has happened in the last so many years? In the last 50 years, 10,000 kilometres of railway line has been built in the country, but we have not even 10 kilometres of railway line. In civil aviation, we did not have any share. In regard to shipping, I would say that we could not have even two boats for Bhakra and Pong lakes. This is the way things are happening. So, I want to tell you that we want protection, we want to be delinked from the plains. I will also tell you what has happened.

Sir, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made hill States because of the political aspirations of the people and not because of the economic viability. What has happened? They want our States to be economically viable. On the one hand they say 'do not cut the forests' and on the other hand, they say 'you can generate your resources from the forests'. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made 11 Special Category States, but the Ninth Finance Commission unimaginatively took away all the concessions given to category 'C' States. This has done a lot of harm. They want us to cut the forests while the Supreme Court says that we cannot even cut a single tree. Another point is that our forest belt in the demarcated reserve forest is decaying. We want to lay roads, but the forest authorities in Delhi do not let us lay any road. So, we cannot even take out the naturally fallen trees.

We are very hard working people. We have produced Chief Justices. We have produced soldiers who have been decorated. We have produced the best people. We are very hard working people. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said that he loved hill people. He said that they love music; they love dancing; they live near the nature; they are hard working people; they earn by the sweat of their brow. He said that he liked them and preferred them to the ugly people who talked ugly things at the stock exchange. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru understood our problems. And, when it was snowing, Shrimati Indira Gandhi stood in the snow for one hour. She understood the problems of hill people. People of the plains are totally ignorant of the problems of the hill people. We gave our land for Bhakra and Pong dams. Prof. Prem Singh Chandumajra said : Is it not our right? Our land had submerged.

Sir, thousands of people were dislocated. We did not get even a single bulb light. Under our Re-organisation Act, we were to get 7.19 per cent of assistance, but we are getting only 2.6 per cent as an ad-hoc assistance. Fifty years have passed and no justice has been done to us. Now, the Rangarajan Committee say that all right, the hill people can levy excise duty or tax on the power that they generate. The Government of Himachal Pradesh, with the consent of all the parties, unanimously said that they would have 10 per cent tax per unit of power that they generate. But the Central Government is not doing anything. The roads in our State have been damaged, but they are not allowing us to construct roads. They are not allowing us to cut the tress.

[Translation]

They had approved the Rangarajan Committee report but the present Governor of Reserve Bank does not agree to that report.

[English]

They are suffocating us. Why are these hills on fire except Himachal Pradesh which is also going to be one fire?

[Translation]

The hills are ablaze because nobody understands our problems. We have been here for the last 14 months but none has bothered about our problems. We are suffocating. If we are not heard., such problems will arise. Bullets are no solution. The Government may shower bullets at us but it will not serve any purpose. The mountains are burning and the Government is responsible for the turbulence and unrest. It is mainly because the Government does not understand and appreciate our problems. There are a few Members belonging to hill areas, that is why we are being suffocated. We are being gagged. What is the result of this? The result is the explosive situation in Kashmir, Nagaland, Mizoram and Uttrakhand. The silent hills are aflame. There is lack of imagination on the part of Government.

So far as tourism is concerned, the Manali road is in a bad shape and deplorable condition. For the last two years the Central Government has not released even a single penny for its repair. The tourism and forests of the State are ruined. Shri Panigrahi and Shri Chandumajra have rightly pointed out the situation on the hydel sector. In 1950 the total generation of electricity was 1710 MW out of which thermal was 1150 MW and hydel was 550 MW. Today generation of hydel is 85,000 MW and thermal is 61,000 MW. ... *(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Only two minutes are left for you to conclude.

[English]

SHRI SAT MAHAJAN : Sir, I sit down now, if you want. I wanted to speak now because for 14 months nobody has spoken about the problems of the hill people. We went to the well of the House to put forth our point of view. Now, we cannot go to the well also. Then, how will we speak?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Mahajan, please do not waste your time. I have cautioned you, because the hon. Speaker, just a little while ago, has said that 10 minutes would be given to each Member.

SHRI SAT MAHAJAN : Sir, this is the problem of the security of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly continue for two more minutes.

SHRI SAT MAHAJAN : Sir, my request is that we must delink planning of hills from the planning of plains. This is the fundamental thing. Unless you understand the psychology of the hill people you cannot solved their problems. You have to make economic programme and planning for them. We had Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh from the hills like, Shri Narain Dutt Tiwari and Shri Bahuguna.

But unless you delink hills from plains, you cannot solve the problems the hill people. Now, there is the problem of Uttarakhand and I tell you that Himachal Pradesh is also going to be on fire, unless you give us the money. You are

not giving us any money. We have come with a begging bowl. Do you want us to be beggars? We are self-respecting people. We cannot bargain our integrity or dignity by coming with a begging bowl to you. We are not cutting our trees for your safety. If we cut our trees, the House, the whole Delhi will be washed out. So, in the interest of the country, you should give us subsidy for cheap electricity that we produce so that our villagers do not cut trees for their daily domestic fuel.

Sir, I am thankful that you did not mind my harsh words. But I am emotional. I love my Country. I love my State. I love the hill people. They are subjected to the tyranny of the bureaucracy and the tyranny of the people who cannot understand their psychology.

That is why, the country is being destroyed. One day, the hills will be put on fire and nobody will be able to save it. Robert Frost once said:

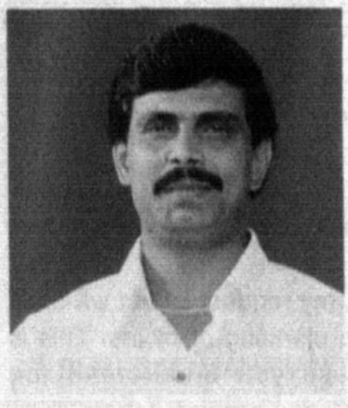
"Woods are lovely, dark and deep,
I have promises to keep."

With whom have you kept these promises? It is with the suppressed souls like us? Mahatmaji said:

"As long as one tear is left, my work is not complete" Swami Vivekananda said : "Rise! Awake! and Stop not till you reach your goal."

[Translation]

I thank you for giving me a chance to speak.



SHRI ANAND MOHAN

SHRI ANAND MOHAN (Sheohar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for providing me an opportunity to participate in the special and serious discussion in this Special Session organised on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration of our Independence. First of all I would like to pay my rich tribute to the martyres because it is all because of their martyrdom that today we all are taking pride of being a citizen of an independent country.

Sir, I belong to a family of freedom fighters. My last seven generations have made a lot of sacrifices for attaining freedom. In the last Session, I had mentioned that Gandhiji visited my house twice and hundreds of Bighas of land were donated by my family for his Ashram and to the Congress Party to be used for freedom struggle. Four seer gold was donated to Gandhiji for the funds created for the freedom struggle. I come from such a family of freedom fighters. Today when we are celebrating Golden Jubilee we are feeling proud of being a citizen of an independent country. If we deny this fact, that would not be justifiable. It is also a fact that we could not live up to expectation before the comity of the nations. We make tall claims about our development that we have made in every field but I would say that we have also made headway in wrong direction also. It is a time for introspection, therefore, we should think about it seriously. India is one of the poorest countries of the world. It is a fact that we are facing the problem of malnutrition and hunger. It is also true that ours is a country of beggars. We should not deny these facts on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of our Independence. It is also a fact that half of our population is still illiterate. It is also a fact that in case of the number of patients and handicapped persons, India is one the top of the list. It is also a fact that lakhs of children of poor and toiling people are becoming blind when they walk barefooted on the roads, hills and hot sand. In this way our country is also one of the beggest countries of blind persons in the world. It is also a fact that India has a largest number of widows. It is a country of scams and hawalas. Our image is also not good in the world. Some conclusions should be drawn from this introspection being done in this Special Session, so that a new direction could be given to the country. We desire that a national agenda should be prepared which may brought about a new change in the national life otherwise mere speeches cannot make any changes in the life of our country. I hail from Maithilanchal and there is a saying in Maithili—"Ki parsechhi gap, liye lab ke lab." We have been making speeches and speeches for the last four days. We want that a national agenda should be prepared and some conclusions of this five days discussion should be drawn. There is a talk about second freedom struggle but for that purpose a comprehensive agenda should be prepared about the shape and approach of the second freedom struggle. Sir, I am still young therefore, I would like to draw you attention towards the problems of the young generations. It is being said that there is no scope to absorb such a large force of youth. We have no planning for them. Many years ago Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had said—"Roji ke hon tin adhar kheti, noukari ya vyapar" (three basis of employment are agriculture, service and business). He said that employment should be classified. But today some families

are owing farm houses and control over politics and also have monopoly over lucrative jobs such as IAS and IPS and they are also carrying business. In this way employment opportunities have become concentrated to a few families. We should deprive of the agriculturists from entering the occupation of service and business and one who is doing business from agriculture and service occupation. Same should be the condition for the persons of service occupation. If it is not done, the employment opportunities would remain concentrated in the hands of a few people.

It is said that there is no scope for employment as there are no major schemes. But in my view, scope for employment does exist. We demand that the right to work should be declared a fundamental right. The Government which is not in a position to give the 'right to work' a constitutional status has no moral authority to fix age limit for retirement. We , the people who belong to working class are given retirement at the age of 58 years on the ground that we are not capable to work beyond this age. But the fact is that this is the age at which we attain maturity and our talents sharpen. On the other hand, we find that the politicians, the Members of this House attain capability to run the country after the retirement age referred to above. The President of India at 80–82 is capable to hold the reins of the nation. In this very House, the Members at the age of 75 to 84 years have the capacity to run the affairs of this country. However, when it comes to us we are not considered worthy of writing notes, delivering lectures in the colleges and using the bayonet. This is the type of injustice being done to the youth. That is why we say that this age limit of retirement is very harsh and should be done away with. If at all any age limit is to be fixed, it should be fixed also for the politicians. In monarchy there was a practice of taking 'Vanprastha' (retirement). Even the kings used to forsake the throne and retire to forests for worshipping God in order to ensure a place in heaven. But what we are doing today is that we enter Lok Sabha to ensure comfortable living for our future generations. So an age limit of retirement should be there for politicians too. Otherwise age limit should be done away with even in the case of employees. If that is not possible, let there be an age limit for retirement, but there should not be any age limit for entry into the service.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What age limit do you suggest for entry into service?

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Let it be 65–70 years. But in that case age limit for us should also be 70 years. ...*(Interruptions)* Duel law is in force in this country. I am not advocating the case of landlord. I am a son of a farmer. My forefathers fought against the system of zamindari. I am of the view that land belongs to the tiller. Non-tillers should be divested of the ownership rights. The government has fixed 15 bigha as the land ceiling but there is no ceiling on accumulation of wealth for the industrialists and the capitalists. Hence, I would suggest that a ceiling on wealth should be fixed and individual wealth above 15 lakh or 15 crore should be forfeited and be invested in the development of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your time is over. You have taken more time.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Luxurious education should be discarded. Present day education was tailored by Lord Macaulay and hence there is need to replace this system with the revival of the teachings of Jagad Guru, Yagyavalkya, Banbhatta and Aryabhatta, Vivekananda, Buddha and Mahavira. A learned person has opined that our Universities are producing degree holders with no prospects of getting jobs. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now. Your time is over.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : The Education system introduced by Lord Macaulay should be abolished. A uniform social education can remove inequality. Whether it is the son of the President or someone else, all must get uniform education. Britishers have left this country. 50 years have passed since we got independence, but our obsession for English has not diminished. Local and regional languages should be given encouragement. I belong to Mithilanchal. Injustice is being done to us and our Mother tongue 'Maithilee'. I would like to say one thing that languages spoken by three lakh, five lakh and ten lakh people have been included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, but injustice has been done to this language spoken by three and half lakh people. Maithilee language should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

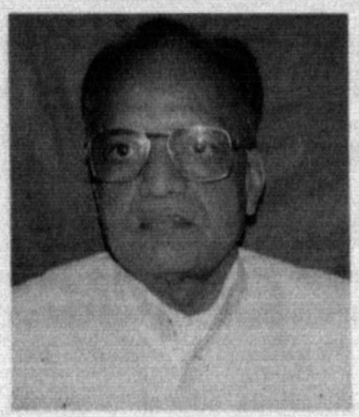
I would like to conclude with one couplet.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude by reciting the couplet.

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the country, I would like to express my feelings and sorrows in the following few words:—

"Kya isliye ye gardan phansi per chadi thi,
Zulmo sitam ki aag main awam jali thi,
Ki chand hi sarmayedar mulk bech dein,
Aur 5 lakh gaon main gurbat dhakel dein,
Isliye sanklap lein ki
Gandhi ke desh main na ab ye jhooth chalega,
Doshi na doshiyon ke gale dosh madhega,
Har harkaton ki dharkano ka raaz khulega,
Kab tak bhala itihas ko bhramvad chvalega."

Thank you very much for giving me opportunity to speak.



SHRI O.P. JINDAL

SHRI O.P. JINDAL (Kurukshetra) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this special session convened on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Independence. Through you, I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the infrastructure development.

Sir, you know that it is the first and foremost necessity to develop the infrastructural facilities of a country for its progress. It can be seen in the developed and developing countries like China, Korea, Malaysia etc.

Infrastructure development generally considered as the real structure through which goods and services are provided to the people. This helps in increasing the production of the country and improvement in the living standards of the people.

19.00 hrs.

Besides, it expands trade, growth is matched with population, poverty is reduced and environmental conditions also improve. From infrastructure development, I mean power, transport, telecommunication services etc. Under the social infrastructural development comes health, education and other primary services.

Sir, during the last fifty years, the position of infrastructure development in our country has not been satisfactory because there has been major role of public sectors in power, transport and telecommunication sectors. The impression which we get from the facilities given for the infrastructure is that there is wide gap between the demand and supply of these services whereas the quality of current supplies is poor. Downfall in capacity utilisation and direct signs of inefficiencies can be seen from disruption in the supply of electricity supply, congestion on roads and long waiting lists for telephones. The increasing gap between the demand and supply of facilities given for infrastructure put a question mark on our economic development in future.

It is a matter of great concern that the investment in infrastructure development made as against gross domestic product has been between 4.5 per cent to 6 per cent. The unsustained and rapid development of our economy mainly depends on adequate availability of facilities of infrastructural development like electricity, transport, and communications. In this regard our all five year plans have hitherto fallen far short of their fixed targets the main reason of which is that the investments made for the purpose have always been less than the allocations.

There is a need to invest more to meet the growing demands due to rapid urbanisation, and to make up for the insufficient investment made earlier. There is an imperative need for private participation especially in power generation, and transmission and in telecommunication sectors for the development of infrastructure.

Sir, I would like to urge upon the Government through you that to improve the facilities of infrastructure development the ongoing projects should be completed first so that they may start earning profits at the earliest although this effort would not be sufficient by itself and more efforts would have to be made for inviting new investments for the development of infrastructure.

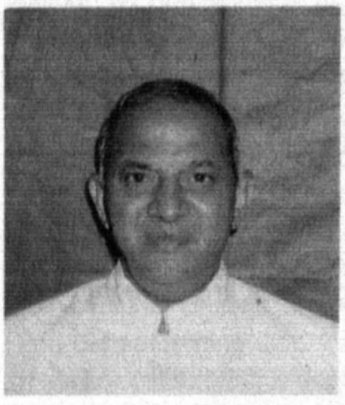
Sir, unless the functioning of the services to be made available is improved remarkably, various basic obstacles would continue to be experienced in achieving the growth of production and export. Therefore, we must be very well acquainted with these realities and we will have to improve our infrastructure at a faster pace for bringing about practical policy changes and for the allround development of the country.

Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one more important issue related to the development of backward classes. We all know it very well. That the representation of the backward class in any developed sector and organisation has been negligible during the last 50 years. The people of Backward Classes have further lagged behind during the last 50 years. It is painful to see that when we talk about the backward class today, we merely confine ourselves to speeches and talks, and paper work in this regard. In the directive principles of State policy of our Constitution a provision has been made for promoting the education and economic interests of the people belonging to weaker and backward sections. Therefore I would like to draw the attention of this House towards the fact unless representation is given to the people of backward class in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies on the basis of their population, all the provisions made in the Constitution and all efforts made for the backward class would remain incomplete. I would like to urge upon the government through you in this House that this provision is very important for establishing a transparent, healthy and complete society in

our country. If it is not done, it would be a gross injustice to the people belonging to the backward class. While it is very much necessary to bring the people of backward class in the mainstream of the country without any discrimination, they should be given proper reservation for that purpose. The supressed people would get facilities and their condition would improve through the system of reservation, would make advancement and be able to add to the country's prestige.

Therefore, I would like to urge upon the Government that in order to provide equal opportunity to all the citizens of our country, to remove discrimination and treating people as high or low, it is very much necessary to consider giving representation to the people of backward class, like SCs and STs, in Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies on the basis of their population so that this Golden Jubilee year of freedom may prove to be the beginning of a golden era for them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank you again and all the Hon. Members present in the House, who have given me a patient hearing and I hope that the House as well as the Government would pay attention to my suggestions.



SHRI ANNASAHIB M.K. PATIL

[English]

SHRI ANNASAHIB M.K. PATIL (Erandol) : Mr. Chairman, thank you, I must thank the Leader of our Party Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpaee for bringing in such a Resolution to consider the state of democracy in various fields. ... *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI BUDHSEN PATEL (Rewa) : He is calling by seeing the faces.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Member, you have to withdraw that word.

[Translation]

Who is calling this way. I am calling according to the list supplied by one whip of your party.

[English]

Are you not prepared to withdraw it?

[Translation]

Who is calling, by seeing the faces.

[English]

This amounts to casting aspersions on the Chair.

... *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI BUDHSEN PATEL : We sat through out the night.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I was also sitting here.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Are you a new Member.

[English]

This is not the way you should behave. You should express regret.

[Translation]

SHRI BUDHSEN PATEL : I withdraw my words. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am calling by the whip you are saying that I am calling by seeing our face.

[English]

SHRI ANNASAHIB M.K. PATIL : I am going to attract the attention of the House on the subject of Science and technology. Science and technology is treated as the key instrument for national growth, development and prosperity. Science and technology is also the instrument to accelerate the country's economic and industrial development.

Sir, the well-known scientist, Prof. M.G.K. Menon, mentioned the following in one of the lectures:—

"While science with some amount of wisdom can create a brilliant world of the future, all the wisdom in the

world without science cannot hope to solve the complex problem of today".

Before Independence, only eight scientific institutions and bodies were working in the country. But after Independence, because of the efforts made by us, several national laboratories and institutions have come into existence. In many of his speeches, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has referred to these institutions as 'modern temples' which will help in the development of economical and industrial growth of rural India.

The various national agencies in scientific research and related pursuits are mainly in the field of sciences relate to human, physical, chemical, engineering, earth system, atmosphere, medicine, electronics, space, oil exploration, ocean development, alternate energy sources, bio-technology, agriculture, industry, nuclear etc.

In our country today, in all, there are more than 320 science and technology institutions. In addition, there are about 1200 in-house research and development industrial undertakings. More than 3.5 million persons are being engaged and trained in all these institutions. It is said that India possess third largest number of engineers scientists and technologists. Such a huge potentiality exists in our country.

The hon. Members who spoke before me referred to various problems facing the country. The hon. Speaker has also raised various issues in the booklet that has been circulated to us. The basic issue pertains to the rural areas. We should ask ourselves whether science and technology has really done something to our rural population in order to uplift their living standards. More than seventy per cent of the people living in the rural areas have agricultural base. We should see whether science and technology has been of some use to them. I find that it is not so. Had it been done, more than ten to fifteen per cent of the masses would not have migrated from the villages to the cities. Now, the cities are getting thickly populated. Nowadays cities are facing so may problems, like environment, slums, pollution etc. By using science and technology, had we provided the basic necessities to the villages, this situation would not have arisen. This is what Mahatma Gandhi expected us to do.

This is not the truth. I find that the amount that we are spending from the Budget is not enough to cater to the requirements of science & technological developmental activities. As it was pointed out by others, we are spending hardly 0.73 per cent of the total amount of budget towards R&D which is not sufficient compared to the other countries which are spending more than two to three per cent.

Therefore, as it was pointed out by one of the speakers earlier, China, Korea and other countries are spending much better than us and therefor they are progressing well compared to us. It is because we are not applying our science and technology to the rural masses. There are some new ideas which I want to bring to the notice of this House.

On the energy side we should make use of sugar factories which are running in our country for the manufacture of *gur* and sugar. But the idea of developing a technology and a technique based on cane juice for the manufacture of power alchohal or gasoline which has already been experimented by other countries. In fact, we were the first country to use alcohol for driving various cars or automobiles 25 years ago. But this ideal is not taking shape in our country. This idea has been carried out in other countries and now there are more than 82 lakh vehicles running on this fuel which is agro-based.

[Translation]

What actually required in the villages is *roti*, *kapada* and *makan*. It would be better if science and technology is used by the villages for this purpose. Even then if we look at the condition of our industries in the context of science and technology, then we would find that the innovations and development taken place in science and technology are not note worth. Today, 1864000 labourers are on the verge of being rendered jobless from industries and around 361000 labourers among them belong to textile industries. In this way, our science and technology would not lay emphasis on this fact that If we would not try to bring improvement in our work then unemployment and poverty would increase and the dependency of the people would not decrease. I had three suggestions in this regard.

[English]

Sugarcane juice and waste should be tried for producing power. There have to small industries in villages so as to that people would get some employment. Rather, they are migrating from villages to cities. And thirdly we should use a lot of waste materials for the purpose of getting fuel and other industrial uses.

On the side of exports, we are very much lagging behind. In fact, we are not doing substantially as far as exports are concerned. It is not even to the tune of half-a-per cent of total exports of the world.

Whatever resources that are there in the villages they can be utilised for the upliftment of the people in the villages which could stop migration from the villages.

With these words I conclude. Thank you very much for the opportunity given to me.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Ferozepur) : Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the special occasion of golden jubilee of Independence. When our country became independent on 15th August 1947 and the reins of power came into our hands then the leaders made big promises. Starting from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the country to the last Prime Minister of the country, everyone had assured the citizens of the country that they would remove poverty, they would provide land to landless people and houses to homeless people. They have raised the slogans of *Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan* and *Roti Kapada and Makan.* Besides green revolution, they talked about fake revolution. From the speeches, we used to make out that attention would be paid towards the poor people, the country would progress alongwith the people of the country. But I am sorry to say that we are celebrating golden jubilee of independence whereas the citizens are starving for want of foodgrains. Many people do not have clothes to wear. Many people are not getting drinking water. Whichever government came to power in the country, cheated the citizens of the country. They said one thing and did something else. I am also sorry to note that when we were celebrating Independence day 15th August in our country, the BBC, which is the major broad casting corporation, was airing the news that one-third of the population of the country gets only one square meal a day and has to do without the second one. Today, the condition of farmers and labourers in our country is every pathetic. 80 per cent of the population of our country resides in villages and 70–75 per cent people work in the agriculture field. But these farmers and labourers have been exploited. The condition of farmers and labourers is worst in comparison to other people in the country. Today, the children of these persons who grow crores of tonnes of foodgrains, who construct dams, canals and roads respectively and who construct multi—storeyed buildings, carrying raw material on their head, are living in sheer scarcity. One who grows foodgrains, his children are starving; One who manufactures clothes, his children have no clothes to put on; one who manufactures shoes, his children have no shoes to wear. Those people who are doing so much for the country, today they are living in the most pathetic condition. Their condition has been made worst. No Government did ever pay any attention to improve the condition of the Bahujan Samaj. In the matter of education people in villages still demand setting up of schools. Village schools should be upgraded and teachers should be provided to them. After 50 years of independence the situation in the field of education is such that the rich do not send their children to government schools, because the educational standards in government Schools has deteriorated to a large extent. In high schools, where 20 teachers are required, only 10 teachers are available and 10 posts are vacant.

Sir, I am talking of Punjab. Punjab is the most prosperous State where the people maintain a good living standard. As compared to other States, people's condition in the State of Punjab is better, but the condition of schools in Punjab has deteriorated to such an extent that in High Schools where 20 teachers are required on 10 are available and in middle schools where 5 teachers are required only 2 are available. In primary schools where two teachers are required, no teacher is available. Sir, there are hundreds of such schools in Punjab. Students are pursuing their studies without teachers in these schools. It is very surprising that students pass the classes without teachers. They pass first, second, third and fourth classes without teachers. One school runs for 15 days and then another one runs for next 15 days of the month. The teaching staff strength is very low. Even then teachers are shifted from schools and engaged in Literacy Mission. Children are not provided proper education while Government insists on teaching the adults. Youth holding a B.A., M.A. and B.Ed. degree are roaming here and there without employment. Arrangements should be made to provide jobs to them. Diverting teaching staff from children's schools to educate the adults is a fraud on children.

Sir, through you, I would like to say that large areas of land are lying unutilised and the same is not allotted to people. 40 lakh hectares of land in the country has been brought under cultivation whereas twice the same is lying unutilised. While on the one hand people are clamouring for getting a minimum of 5 acres of land, whereas crores of land is lying unutilised. Needy people are not being allotted this land. If the land lying unutilised is given to poor people they can stand on their own feet. This will also help in solving the food problem of the country to a great extent.

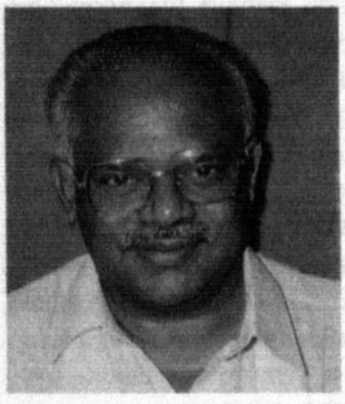
Sir, in our country people who know agriculture work, do not possess agricultural land. On the other hand, people who do not know anything about agriculture, are the owners of thousands of acreas of land. Land is not given to people

who know agriculture work whereas people who have no knowledge of agriculture are the owners of land. I am of the view that land should be provided to landless people.

I would like to draw your attention to one more point. All kinds of minerals are available in the country. Forests and mountains are there. This country is endowed with all kinds of weather. Coal and iron are available in the country. Then what are the reasons that this country is not making progress. How did the other countries like USA, Japan, Australia and Canada make progress. These countries made progress because they developed the industries of their countries. This country cannot make progress unless and until the Government of this country develops industries of this country. It is very necessary to develop the industries.

Today the educated youth are roaming here and there without jobs. I would like to make a point in regard to them. The Government cannot provide them employment so soon. As such a plan should be drawn for them. They should be provided loans without interest so that, they can start their own work and stand on their own feet.

I am grateful to you for providing me an opportunity to speak.



SHRI A.C. JOS

[English]

SHRI A.C. JOS (Idukki) : Sir, thank you very much for having given me this opportunity to address this august House during this momentous Session. The entire nation will laud you and congratulate you for taking a decision to convene this historic Session on the 50 anniversary of our Independence. The date 15th August, 1947 is not merely the Indian Independence day, it has also found its place among the historic landmarks in the world's annals. It is as significant as the Fall of bestile or as the Russian Revolution. The date derives its significance not merely from the fact that for us in India it was a day when after centuries of alien rule, a great people redeemed its pledge and hailed the advent of freedom. Indian Independence was a historic necessity for the end of European colonialism as it had grown over the previous three hundred years. The entire edifice of imperialism collapsed after the liberation of India. I remember, the prophetic words of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who, immediately after his release in 1945, declared in front of the prison itself, and I quote

> "It is no longer quit India, it is now quit Asia and tomorrow it is quit Africa."

So, today we are not only celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of our great Motherland but we are also celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the collapse of the mighty British colonial rule throughout the world. For us also this is not a simple celebration of the fiftieth anniversary, it is the fiftieth birthday of our great Motherland, an integrated, unified Indian Nation. I agree that culturally India has existed for more than five thousand years but politically it came into being only on 15th August, 1947. If anyone asks me what is the most significant achievement of our Independence, I will, without any hesitation, without any fear of contradiction, tell that India has been able to survive as one nation for the past fifty years despite grievous legacy of partition and other disruptive forces operating internally and externally. It is nothing but a sheer miracle when we realise what has happened in most of the newly freed countries around us, including our neighbour Pakistan. We can rightly be proud of building a great country for the past fifty years. I am not going to dwell at length our achievements, but with pride I say, as a humble worker, that the Indian National Congress has paved the way not only for freedom but for the upliftment of this country into the next century. I am not going into the details as to what was the situation of our country at the time of Independence, but I would say that we have achieved a Green Revolution, as a result of which, the ten-year famine in this country has totally vanished from this country.

We are the largest milk producing country in the world. It is not a small achievement. We are the second largest country as far as the number of technicians is concerned. We are the eighth largest industrial power. We have wonderfully managed, better than many Western countries in the world, three oil crises. At a particular point of time, all other countries were very much aghast and envied the way in which India managed this crisis. We have survived three wars; two wars against Pakistan and one against China. I do not want to narrate the entire thing but it all became possible because of the political stability and that political stability was given by none other than the Indian National Congress.

Whenever Congress was voted to power, this country got political stability. I am not a prophet of doom. I am still proud of the achievements made by this country. We have defects. We have failings. Which other country does not

have failings? Which other country does not have problems? The problems are animated with prosperity. When you grow more and more, the problems would come. There is a spiritual problem in America. In Europe there is an economic problem. Every country has got its own problems. We also have problems. I would like to point out two problems. One is the House itself.

I am rather scared, afraid to see the composition of this House. The protagonists of violations may say a lot of things. I am not in favour of that. In 1977 the Congress was defeated and the Ministry which come lasted for only 32 months. Again in 1989 the Congress was defeated and we had two coalition Governments for 11 months and 8 months respectively. To what has it led us? It led us to a terrible crisis of foreign exchange and economy. Shri Narasimha Rao came to power in 1991. Miraculously, we saved our foreign exchange. We embarked on a new Economic Policy of liberalisation. I do not know whether you agree with me or not, people started feeling proud of us. In those days we even had a surplus growth rate which was better than China or other Asian tigers.

We have a coalition Government even now but this coalition is shaking. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No interruptions, please.

SHRI A.C. JOS : I am not against coalition Governments. We had a hung Parliament once, twice and thrice which destroyed the confidence of the people on the very existence of democracy. So, I would urge the political leaders of both sides to have a serious thinking about the political polarisation.

We are following the Westminster system. Westminster system means plurality of political parties and not multiplicity of political Parties. We need plurality and not multiplicity. Political Parties are generated because of region, community or language with the result every time a hung Parliament is coming. This would ultimately destabilise the democratic faith of the people. I am not blaming anybody and I do not also wish to take credit. The Leaders of the major political Parties should sit together and take a decision. I know that in 64 countries coalition Governments are working. In Italy and Germany coalition Governments are working. I am not against coalition Governments but the composition of this House is complex. The nature of this House tells us that we have to seriously consider it.

Our second biggest problem is population.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You please realise my unpleasant task.

SHRI A.C. JOS : Yes Sir, India's population is rapidly heading towards a billion mark. Its base is really exploding.

The population of the country has been estimated by the Registrar General of India to be 934.2 million as on March, 1996, based on the 1991 census. This is a frightening growth. We have to put an end to, especially so when the whole political spectrum of the House has agreed that the greatest problem that stares at us is the problem of population.

I come from the State of Kerala. I am proud that the States of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Goa have taken great strides in the control of population. I would like to quote from what Shri Srinivasan, the Executive Director, Population Foundation of India has said.

"India's population problem is not owing to its large size but the persistent high rate of growth. The picture seems different when we consider the States separately. During the decade 1981–91, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Goa registered growth rates of 13.98, 14.94 and 15.96 respectively, far lesser than Uttar Pradesh and other States."

It is not because of any contraceptive. The population growth could be arrested in Kerala because of the contraceptive of education. We have given education to our girl child. My submission to this august House is that to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of our Independence, we have to pledge that every female child in this nation will be educated from this year onwards. The gap of funds for the primary education is Rs. 2,700 crore. My humble submission before this House is, when we adopt the declaration on Monday, we should earmark this amount of Rs. 2,700 crore for this purpose to commemorate the occasion. That declaration has to be made the day after tomorrow.

The Kerala experiment is being taught in the John Hopkinson University, New York. It is because we are not an affluent State but we could still control the growth of population. We could do it because of female education. I suggest that female education should be made compulsory. It should be provided that the parents of every child who is sent to a primary school will be paid Rs. 100. I do not want to quote statistics. There are five crore female children. An amount of, say, Rs. 50 can be paid to their parents and primary education can be made compulsory. It should be made a punishable offence if parents do not send their children, especially female children to school. That situation will have to be created. Otherwise, we will be in peril.

I once again submit that to commemorate the occasion of the 50th anniversary of our Independence, an amount of

Rs. 2,700 crore should be earmarked for primary education. It should be made compulsory that every female child in this country will go to school. That is the most effective preventive measure for population explosion. And also an appropriate population policy has to be adopted. If we do not control population growth, the whole infrastructure will collapse.

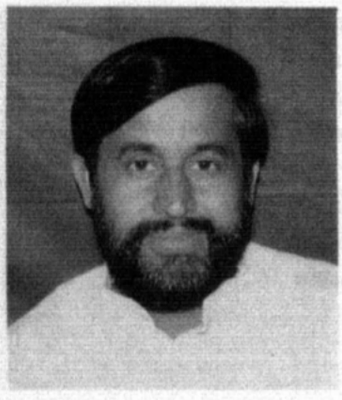
I would like to place only two things before the House. One is the political spectrum. The national leaders have to think about it. Secondly, a population policy has to be adopted wherein female education has to be subsidised. Also a parent not letting a girl child go to school should be made a punishable offence.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Devendra Prasad Yadav.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : I want to remind you of one thing. Only 22 people have spoken so far. Out of them only four from BJP have been given time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your Party's turn is coming next.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : Kindly compensate them so that every member can speak.



SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV

[Translation]

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV (Jhanjharpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir the apex House of peoples Representatives in the country is holding discussions on the matters of national importance on the occasion of the 50th year of the country's independence. First of all I would like to thank the hon. Speaker for convening this Special Session. Discussions have taken place on matters of national importance above party lines, but some hon. members found it difficult to cross their party boundaries. Even then the net outcome of the discussion indicated that by convening this session the hon. Speaker has set up a healthy tradition in the annuals of this august House. The Speakers of State legislative Assemblies should also emulate this practice though of course no directive can be given to this effect but if they follow this practice, it will do a lot of good. Even though the parties remain confined to their party barriers and programmes, if priority is accorded to matters of national importance and if a national agenda is chalked out by making a national charter of priorities and it is implemented it will help us in making our country a great nation. There is no dearth of anything in the country, be it coal, electricity, water or fertility of land. That's why we have become self-reliant in foodgrains.

This year the country is celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the country's independence. On this occasion, first of all we should express our country's gratitude to our farmers and agriculture scientists of our country. Earlier we were not self-reliant in foodgrains, we have become self-reliant in foodgrains by sheer dint of hard labour by our farmers no matter whether they belong to Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Western U.P., Madhya Pradesh or Maharashtra. This is our achievement.

Veteran Members and hon. Leaders of the House made a mention of innumerable achievements that the country has made during these 50 years. Mention has been made right from manufacturing of needles upto missiles. The achievements in these 50 years are a matter of pride for us. But we should also look at our shortcomings and weaknesses and centre our discussion around them. Now, this debate is likely to be completed but before that better if a national charter is drafted with the consensus from all the parties and a resolution adopted on these points, it could have sent a better message. We still have two-three days with us because today was the last day of special session but this session has been extended for another two days. I think, there is a need to finalise the resolution within the next two days because the consensus made after two days debate had made it clear that almost all the hon. members rising above party lines believe that if the very first step is not taken rightly in any direction, the result will not be fruitful. The outcome of the last two days, debate is that country had the problem of regaining real freedom and the solution of the problem was through the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, which the country had because he had a power of good conduct which could ignite the will power of the people. All the leaders including me organise national debate on several issues but if in accordance with the debate, there is crisis of belief, character and conduct then no fruitful result can be obtained from this debate. Today, there is no shortage of coal, water, resource or anything and the country has the capacity of resource mobilisation. If the country lacks anything, it lacks belief, honesty, character, morality and conduct. Gandhiji had developed his character and personality so great that whenever he gave a call, the entire India followed him.

Sir, what was the reason behind it? The reason was that he had harmonised himself with the poor and had adopted their life style. Therefore, the poor flock of the country rised up on a single call given by him. The common man was with him. The country fought the freedom struggle in this leadership. I bow down before those freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the country. Today, I would like to state that no scheme or programme be it reforms programme, land reform or any act, has not been implemented properly. The wealths and the lands which has been accumulated in few hands in certain areas are sure to be divided. Today, the hon. Members should set an example by declaring their movable and immovable assets.

Sir, today, in the fiftieth year of our independence, we should take a resolution that we shall give all the details of our movable and immovable property to the Speaker, Lok Sabha or the Chairman, Rajya Sabha, as the case may be and give a copy of it to the hon. Prime Minister. It is equally applicable on the State Assemblies. The MLAs of the State Assemblies should give their details in this regard to the Speaker of the Assembly and the Chief Minister. Such type of Act should be enacted with unanimous view and the stern action should be taken against those Hon. Members who do not follow the rules or default. While debating today on the issues of national importance, I request that declaration of property should be made compulsory.

Sir, so long so along as our conduct is not fair, our conscience is not clean and there is difference in our practice and precept, our mere long speeches will deliver no goods. The only outcome of today's discussion is that we should follow Gandhi's programmes. We should adopt Swadeshi and Swawlamban. Today, I was listening to the speeches of Shri Murli Manohar Joshi and other hon. Members. Joshiji started as to how our people, in that era with their scientific knowledge had made more progress than today's generation. Our arts and crafts in that era were in more advanced stage than in today's age of high technology. The Malmal of Dhaka was famous world-wide. Our ancient technique and culture was more rich. Therefore, I would like to state that we should adopt the programmes of Gandhiji.

Sir, though today, we cannot go 50 years back yet we can adopt Gandhiji's programme. When I was Minister, I had started targetted Public Distribution Programme which is still in existence in the States having strong infrastructure. This system has been implemented strictly in some States like Kerala, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. I had instructed these States to focus on the poor, while formulating this Scheme, I had made Gandhiji the basis thereof. For a hungry man, the bread given is God.

Sir, in the end, I would like to state about a Mantra provided by Gandhiji for the identification of poverty and the poor.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Alright, Please conclude after telling about it.

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV : I am mentioning about Gandhi's Mantra. Whenever you have doubt or ego over powers you, try this Mantra. Remember the picture of the poorest and the weakest person and ask yourself whether the step you are going to take would be useful for that person? Whether he would be able to control his life and future? Whether the millions of people would be able to obtain freedom? When you feel that your doubts and ego are disappearing, march in that direction. We have not been able to solve even our basic problems like potable water and bread. Crores of people take only one time meal. As per the estimates of the new Planning Commission 35.97 per cent people are living below the poverty line. It means 36 per cent people live below the poverty line.

Our duty is to provide food to the people living below the poverty line, at reasonable cost. The scheme of providing food at reasonable cost should be implemented and monitored. A Vigilance Committee should be set up and all the hon. Members should co-operate. Cheap foodgrain, which is purchased less, should be kept in priority sector so that 32 crore people of country could be benefited under the scheme and the man at the grassroot level could be benefited. It would be proper to follow the guidelines of the scheme so that the poor people may get free education, food at reasonable price and their health care should be kept in priority list. If we fulfil these basic facilities and attach ourselves with the poor only then we can be successful. ... *(Interruptions)*. If the poor person whose body is not functioning properly, gets proper food, his purchasing power would increase. The crores of people in the country who create wealth. ... *(interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. The hon. Speaker had asked for ten minutes while you have consumed fourteen minutes.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, those who presently hold our culture and politics in their grip's are being allowed to do so by none other than we ourselves. If this undergoes a change it would be the greatest task performed in the country. With these words I conclude my speech.

SHRI CHANDRABHUSHAN SINGH

SHRI CHANDRABHUSHAN SINGH (Kannauj) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on the Golden Jubilee of independence. India has been a store house of talents from ancient time. India has produced scientists like Jagdish Chandra Bose, Acharya P.C. Ray, Shri Ramanujam in the twentieth century. There have been scientists and writers here who have been famous in world. I would confine myself to science and technology which has been assigned to me. C.B. Raman, Shri S. Chandra Shekhar and Hargobind Khurana were also bestowed upon Nobel Prize. Shri C.B. Raman was such a scientist who did research in India circumstances due to which he got Noble Prize. Shri Khurana and Shri S. Chandra Shekhar migrated to America and they got citizenship there. I want to say that we are spending only 73 per cent of G.D.P. on our research and development in these circumstances.

20.00 hrs.

Now, why the situation has worsened. Today if you take America and developed countries, you would find that most of the policy makers there are experts and scientists. The person, who is expert in that field, makes the policy in that regard. But in India it is different. Here, the administrative officers, who do not know even the a,b,c,d of a particular subject, are our policy makers. They are at the helms of our affairs. It is unfortunate that administrative officers have got red lights on their cars, they lead marvellous lives and they have got status in the society in India. Whereas in developed countries, scientists are provided such facilities. Through you, I urge upon the Government that our scientists should be provided those facilities and they should be given leading role in policy making so that situation may be improved in India. We all know that the economic condition of India has deteriorated since the year 1971. When the Government felt that now we would not be able to repay our loan they gave economic freedom in the name of liberalisation. Today, we welcome the capital investment, but today our infrastructure has become worse; so much that no one is prepared to make investment here. Why has our infrastructure has become worse. Such a situation had once developed in Japan also. But when Japan felt that her economic condition is going to be in doldrums, she invested under that head for 10 years for strengthening the infrastructure and made all round progress in all fields be it transport, or airways, or power. We all know the status of Japan in the world today. Our infrastructure is not good. All our infrastructural resources are misused. As a result of that today no one is prepared to invest here.

A big company of Malaysia, invested 40 crore dollars here. Shri Pakard is its owner. He started a company with 62 employees in Singapore in the year 1967 which is flourishing there. The labour was very cheap there at that time. But today all type of labour is costly in Singapore. Despite it the investors prefer to make investment there. Today the same company which invested 40 crore dollars in India, is prepared to go back to Malaysia. Similarly, take the case of Japan. When there was the question of making investment, Japan said that she would make investment on its own sweet will. They said that you take our labour oriented industries and invest money. China is also an example. Here in our country only 100 crore dollar is invested annually whereas in China upto 3000 crore dollar is invested annually. See the condition of Japan. There labour-oriented work reached the investors and unemployment got removed. On the other hand, see the position of India. The investors who came to India, don't come with new schemes, but takeover the existing industries first. As it is within their reach, so they want to takeover such industries which are already there. I would like to give one example in this regard. D.C.M. was a big company of Shri Ram, Charat Ramji whose shares were bought by Swaraj Paulji. If the Government had not helped, that company would have been taken over by Swaraj Paul. Secondly, take the example of Daewoo which was working in joint venture with D.C.M. which had a holding of 51 per cent shares with it. When they said that they would make expansion in it, Charat Ramji said that they don't have so much money for making investment. They said, well, you sell your shares. Today they have 40 per cent shares in it and Daewoo has 51 per cent share in it. As a result of that now Daewoo has the control over it. I want to submit and request the Government that it should not do any such work in the name of liberalisation due to which the country may go towards economic subjugation again.

The main issue in infrastructure is coal and energy. The per capita energy used is the measurement of the development of country. What is the situation here. Today, per capita consumption of electricity is only 320 kwh in

India, whereas it is 416 kwh in Pakistan, 1784 kwh in Argentina, which is a backward country, as while the average of world consumption is 2216 kwh. I want to submit that we are lagging far behind and if we don't make improvement, if we don't make improvement in our system, we would have to undergo economic subjugation and the purpose of economic liberalisation would not materialise. Today, we are generating 74 per cent thermal power, 24 per cent Hydro power and 2 per cent nuclear power. I want to submit that we could generate cheap and maximum electricity from hydro system, but it was not done. In the year 1961–62 the share of Hydro electricity was 51 per cent which has come down to 24 per cent now. We have so much resources that we could construct dams on mountain rivers and could generate still more hydro electricity but the Government did not pay attention to it. Today, we all know that there is scarcity of coal, only 202 billion tonne coal has remained and emphasis is being given on thermal power generation under the pressure of World Bank and the policy of America. We have been setting up thermal power stations one after another. Only 2 per cent nuclear power is generated. Through you, I would like to request the Government that it should pay special attention to nuclear and hydro power so that cheap electricity is produced and electricitv easily available to common man.

Same is the case with road transportation. At present, there is only 34 thousand kilometre National Highways, nearly 1.30 lakh kilometre State highways in the country. Out of them, only 2 per cent roads are four lane roads and the remaining roads are unmetalled and are in dilapiadated condition. Keeping it in view, how you expect that investors would come here. Take the case of Indian Airlines and Air India, the loss incurred by them has gone upto Rs. 1000 crore from Rs. 220 crore in a single year. Then how you expect that we would be able to give good resources and good system to the investors so that good investors may come here and good system may be available here.

I request the Government that it should reconsider its liberalisation policy and should formulate such a powerful policy which many be able to avert the impending economic slavery and the infrastructure may also get strengthened. With these words, I thank you.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Thank you very much. It was well within the time.

Shri Anadi Charan Sahu to speak now.

SHRI ANADI CHARAN SAHU

SHRI ANADI CHARAN SAHU (Cuttack) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful for the opportunity afforded for speaking on this occasion.

At the stroke of midnight on that fateful day of 15th August, 1947 an insignia was installed on the podium of governance of this country. The insignia is the Ashokan Pillar where of principles and at the pedestal a legend was etched, the legend of hope, ideals, aspirations and inspirations. And that legend is *satyameva jayate*—Truth only prevails. In Sanskrit it is the present continuous tense. To explain it properly what is *satyameva jayate*, Truth only prevails, I would request all of you to go back to the Mundak Upanishad wherein it has been very beautifully explained in the present perfect tense.

It says:

[Translation]

'Satyamev Jayte Naa Anritam
Sadaten Pantha: Vitato Devyanty:'

It means, in each and any point of time only truth prevails and not falsehood. Untruth is falsehood. It does not prevail. With each kind of work, we can pave the way and can create a vehicle for going to *Devlok* or we can become ourselves Gods. That is the aspiration of the people who were freed from the bondage of the British on that fateful day.

In order to get more inspiration, the people of India enacted a Constitution in 1949. In 1950, it was adopted wherein justice, equality, fraternity and liberty were given to the people. The aspirations were concretised. Mere ideology does not bring about any achievement for the people. And for any sort of betterment, you must have concrete facts, you must have support, you must have food, you must have money, you must have equality. In that Constitution itself, protective discrimination was enshrined so that the down-trodden, the marginalised and the people who have been forgotten for the millennia could be brought on a proper

pedestal. That was thought of. But as I said, mere philosophy does not give any sort of good thing to the people.

Sir, could I spill over to or three minutes, if you give me time?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will have to compress everything within your limit.

SHRI ANADI CHARAN SAHU : I will be very precise. I will not be dilating on these things.

At the Avadi Congress in 1955, the socialistic principles of society were evolved by Pandit Nehru. That was the great stride which was given to this society in 1955. The Plan was adopted and so many other things were done. I am not going into those details as everybody has spoken on that.

When a democracy is set up, there is contradiction and expansion. And in contraction and expansion, there is bound to be fissures. Fissures started showing in 1975. I am sorry to say that as a matter of hindsight, some people have tried to denigrate the emergency and tried to criticise Madam Indira Gandhi, the Lioness of India. When there is contraction and expansion, naturally there will be fissures and the fissures have to be controlled. For controlling the fissures, that mother took up a cane, boxed the ears of the erring children and said, "You behave properly." I had the unique opportunity of being the SP of two districts before, during and after the period of the Emergency. I know the situation. I have seen with my own eyes. You can see this injury mark on my face. I call it a beauty spot. In January or February 1977, I do not exactly remember, when the elections were going on, I was SP Bhubaneswar. Madam Indira Gandhi came to address a public meeting. Can you imagine, there were hardly 2,000 people in that public meeting at Bhubaneswar? In 1978 June, she came to Cuttack. I was SP Cuttack then. There was a murderous attack on her and the people were spitting venom and fire. It was very difficult for me to control the crowd and I got injured. The District Magistrate had a fractured leg. That was the commitment which was shown to Madam Gandhi because of the liberal democracy which had been established in India for 25 to 28 years. It had stoked the expectations of the people. When there are dying embers, you stoke it to enkindle it. It stoked the expectations of the people and the latent desire of the population and come up. They did not want to be chaired. That is why, the people were spitting the venom. But you will be surprised to know that in December 1979, again I was the SP Cuttack and she came to address a public meeting for the elections.

And it was difficult for me to keep away the surging tumultuous and joyous crowd of lakhs of people in Cuttack city. What for? It is because they had found that the system they had rejected, the person that they had rejected was wrong. There was bickering, selfish gains and what not. It will not go into the details of those post emergency two-and-a-half years. May the people understand that it is better again to go back to the people who had governed properly and that is the spirit of democracy of India. That is how the people, as I said, the latent power, of the people was stoked and it is being stoked. That is what is required and that is what had happened between 1975 and 1980. What has happened? Democracy has projected many better things which we are enjoying now. As you know, Sir, we have been able to provide food and shelter to the people but still, 40 per cent of our people are below the poverty line and a person who is hungry is always angry and it leads to lots of law and order problem, I being a man who has come from the police, know the difficulties of these people when they are hungry. It is very difficult to control angry and hungry people. Even now, I do not want to say that we have this and that thing. I do not want any excuses. But the fact remains that 40 per cent of our people are below the poverty line. There is a Sanskrit saying like this:

Akarma Bhoomi Nindanti,
Jalam Nindanti Rogina:
Ganika Putra Nindanti,
Chour Nindanti Chandrma.

You can find any excuses you like but I am not finding any excuses. The fact remains that 40 per cent of our people are below the poverty line and because of poverty, we are having a lot of difficulties and the latent power of the people which has been aroused has given rise to many complications.

The first complication which has come is the muscle power. It is found that persuasion is not suficient and we use force for getting into power. I would explain it in the prophetic words of Marichto Ravana about governance in the *yudh kanda* of *Valmiki Ramayana.* In this he has said:

Rajyam Palyetam Sakyam,
Na Tirunen Na Nishachar.
Na Chaapi Pratikulen,
Na viniten Rakshasa.

This is what he has said.

Na Viniten Rakshasa.

It means if you are arrogant you cannot govern. And now you have seen that arrogance has caused the pedestal of a Chief Minister to topple.

Na tirunen Na Nishachar

It is not a derogatory word but it is an ethnic address and *rakshash* is also the ethnic address. If one uses muscle power, then also one cannot govern. If one is arrogant, he cannot control. If the entire population is against you, then also you cannot control the people and you cannot govern them. That is the principle which has been enunciated in a very succinct manner during the thick of the battle in Sri Lank. Kumbhakarna informed his elder brother as to what he was doing and what we are doing now is the repetition of the same thing. This democracy is again facing the same fissure. It has widened and has become a fractured democracy now. That was a fissure and now it is a fracture. In this fractured polity, for the coming 50 years, if we do not know how to cement it, how to stitch it, it will crack and it will be fragmented. What has this fractured power given us? It has given communalism and regionalism and what not. ... *(Interruptions)*. I will not tell all those things. I will only tell, in a minute, the messages required for the new generations. I will only tell the points and abruptly stop my speech. I will not go into muscle power and all those things. I will narrate the matters which are required for the coming generation and for the resolution which will be adopted.

The first thing is criminalisation of politics and the second thing is politicisation of administration. Both these matters have to be curbed. Politicisation of administration is the most important thing.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You need not explain further.

SHRI ANADI CHARAN SAHU : The third is that federalism has to be functional arrangement only for cooperative action than static institutional concept. For that matter, kindly amend articles 256, 257 and 360, as the case may be.

The fourth one is that there should be protective discrimination. But at the same time, it should be indicated properly that protective discrimination does not mean that a person would be at a particular place; protective discrimination should be limited as enjoined in the Constitution of India.

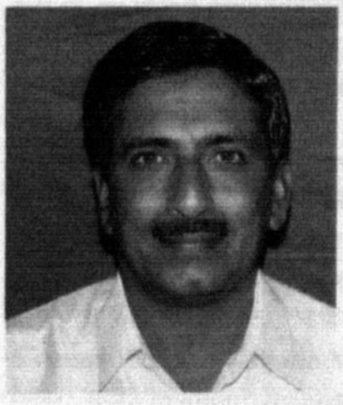
The next is that the judicial populism should be curbed and for curbing judicial populism, I would suggest that there should be accountability of the judiciary to Parliament. As we get annual reports from different departments, the judiciary should also be asked to submit annual reports on judgement and they should be discussed in Parliament.

Then, a minor dose of guided democracy would be required for us. What is this guided democracy? The President of India should be empowered to withdraw his pleasure from any Minister if it is found that the Minister is corrupt, inefficient, inept or deficient in any manner and *mutatis mutandis* it should also empower the Governors in the States. This is what my concept of guided democracy is.

Last but not least, along with the emancipation of the women, there should be reservation for women. In the *Rig Veda*, there is a beautiful saying which says:

Ahang Rashtri Sangmani Basunam,
Chikitusi Prathmam yagyanam.

Rishi Anrun's *kanya* Baghdevi says: 'I am the State'. If you give them the power, they will say 'I am the State, I create the State'. That is what our forefathers had said and that should be resolved now in this Resolution which we are going to pass in another two or three days.



SHRI C. NARAYANA SWAMY

SHRI C. NARAYANA SWAMY (Bangalore North) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for the apportunity given to me to speak today. The past four days have been very educative for me. The speeches of the experienced parliamentarians and leaders here on various subjects relating to the country have given me a lot of information. I do not wish to take the time of the House by referring to the issues or problems. They have already been mentioned here in the House during the past four decades. The grass-root level democratic institutions in this country which have a new significance are the Panchayati Raj Institutions. They are the municipalities and the corporations. They are called 'local bodies'. Alongside, I would also like to mention the relevance of the other democratic institutions called the 'cooperatives'. These two institutions of governance were given primacy by the Father of the Nation and also the first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Every year, one week from the 14th November, that is the birthday of *Chacha*

Nehru, is celebrated as a cooperative week and the various facets of cooperation are discussed during that period. In our country, we have 3.95 lakh cooperative institutions and they have 18 crore members.

A working capital of Rs. 1,18,000 crore is involved in these cooperative institutions. To stress the importance of cooperations, I wish to say that the share of cooperative institutions in providing rural agricultural credit is 60 per cent. In the distribution of fertilisers which are required by the farmers, the share is 35 per cent. When we speak about sugar production, the contribution of the cooperative sector is 63 per cent in our country. Thirty per cent of the distribution of essential commodities in our country is done through cooperative fair price shops.

We are discussing about liberalisation and globalisation. We are also discussing about the *navratnas*, and these public sector undertakings are being enabled by the Government to compete globally and to face stiff competition from abroad. I am giving this background because in the Ninth Plan document, sufficient attention has not been paid to the role of the cooperatives, except by way of a passing remark. In view of liberalisation, if the government does not take necessary steps or if the government does not extend necessary support, then the cooperative structure in the country and the very basis of the cooperative movement would be endangered in the country.

Throughout the country, we are yet to come across a single State where the cooperative moment has been democratised to the fullest extent. There have been elections to the cooperative institutions for many years in many States, but even where elections have been held and where the elected representatives are there, we have seen the Government's interference in controlling and regulating the day-to-day activities of the cooperative institutions and the functionaries.

I would like to refer to the fact that the Government of India has accepted the recommendations of Choudhary Brahma Prakash Committee on the Mode Cooperative Law, which gives a greater sense of autonomy and a greater democracy in the functioning of these institutions. But as I said, in no State do we find the implementation of the recommendations of Choudhary Brahma Prakash Committee. I would request the Government to take effective steps to see that the States adopt the recommendations of this Committee and incorporate the salient features contained in their report.

Now in order to strengthen the cooperative movement and the activities, there has been a move for quite a long time to establish Cooperative Bank of India. The cooperative movement has been impressing upon the Central Government to give licence to this bank by bringing in a minor amendment to the Banking Regulation Act. This has not been done. Earlier, the fate of the Panchayati Raj institutions, before the Seventy-third and the Seventy-fourth Amendments to the Constitution were made, was similar to that of the cooperatives in the country.

But after the amendments, the Panchayati Raj or the Local Body Government secured a constitutional mandate, a constitutional authority. In order to see that the cooperative movement gets a foot hold in the country and has been empowered to develop in the country, we would call upon the Government to initiate constitutional amendment on the lines of the Panchayati Raj 73rd and 74th Amendments to see that the cooperative moment has a firm constitutional basis in the country so that elections are held regularly and the institutions function democratically.

In the matter of industrial development, there is a provision under the Sick Mills Act for rehabilitation of the sick industrial units and I am referring to the BIFR. But similar provision is not there in respect of cooperative institutions which go sick because of various reasons.

I feel there is a need for us to formulate a sort of arrangement where the sick cooperative institutions also survive and are allowed to rehabilitate themselves.

Coming to the Panchayati Raj Amendment itself, in many States the requisite powers and functions are not given to the local bodies either urban or rural and even though items are mentioned in the schedule to the Constitution and in the enactments of the State Governments, the State Governments have not devolved sufficient powers to these Bodies and now it is apt that the Constitution is further amended to include another List, a Local Government List, in addition to the three Lists we have, the Union List, the State List and the Concurrent List, so that the functions and powers of the local bodies are taken care of and they are able to function effectively in the country.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Today in the Leaders' meeting, it was decided that all those who were here up to 6 o'clock in the morning—20 hon. Members were there—should be given priority and after competition of that List, all the rest of the hon. Members should get an

opportunity to appear in Doordarshan. But this hon. Member has been sitting since moring here to speak, but he has not been given a chance to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. I called the hon. Member to speak. You were not here at that time. The hon. Member was called to speak, but he did not speak.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : The problem is that the hon. Member has been sitting here. I was also here. Just now I came back. The hon. Member is here up to 6 o'clock and the Chair has given the rulling. But since morning, the hon. Member has not been accommodated.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let me also share with you my feeling. I called the hon. Member to speak. You can just ask him.

[Translation]

SHRI SURESH JADHAV (Parbhani) : The House is going to adjourn at thirty minutes past eight. Hon. Speaker has said no.

MR. CHAIRMAN : When it was said, there might be 10–15 minutes more left.

[English]

Every hon. Member is allotted ten minutes. We will also hear the hon. Member. There is no difficulty.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : Since morning only five Members of the BJP, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, Prof Rita Verma, Shrimati, Jayawanti Navinchandra Mehta, Shrimati Rajani Patil, and Shri Chandrabhushan Singh, have spoken. But five hon. Members of the Congress (I) have spoken in our presence today itself during two hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You know the time taken is also exceeded.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : Out of 25 Members who have spoken today, only five Members are from the BJP and ten from the Congress (I). ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : I had mentioned this in the Business Advisory Committee. We were given one hour yesterday and you were given two and a half hours because the previous day you had less time. That is why, you were given more time. Today, those who were there yesterday like Shri Sultanpuri, Shri Namgyal and Kumari Tiriya, their names were included. I went to the Hon. Speaker and said that dinner was not important. What is important is to keep the commitment. He readily agreed and that is why, these three Members are speaking. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : I was there till early in the morning. My name is also there. I was there till 5.45 a.m. There must be some ratio. I went to my House when the House adjourned. This is no reasonable. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The total time taken by each party is taken into account. I am not in argument.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : It is not all right. Five Members out of 25 members who have spoken is not a good ratio. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I occupied the Chair just one hour back. Let us not waste our time. Whoever is here, he can speak and then we will adjourn.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : I was also here in the morning. I should also get a chance. ... *(Interruptions)*

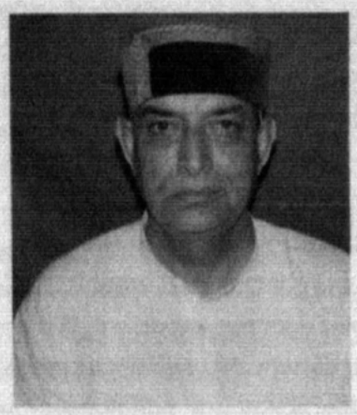
DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : It is going to be 9 O'clock. When will I get a chance?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You take your chance tomorrow.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : This assurance should be given today. When we were there in the morning, we were told that we would be given first priority.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let us not waste the time. If you want to go, you have your chance tomorrow. I am giving you an assurance.

Shri Sultanpuri to speak.



SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI

[Translation]

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Shimla) Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to pay homage to those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the independence of the nation. Hon'ble Mr. Speaker convened a special session of Parliament from 26th for which we congratulate him. All the members have expressed their valuable views in this House. Congress Party was criticised with utmost severity in a very wrong manner. Serious allegations were levelled on the congress party, more by the members sitting on the other side than by the Members sitting on the treasury benches and we came under heavy attack.

How can our nation progress? A grave injustice has been done to the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes community. Wherever the opposition party is in power, atrocities have been committed on the SC and ST. You will notice that in all the hilly areas, whether it is Garhwal, Nagaland or Manipur or tiny islands which include Lakshdweep and Andman and Nicobar, people have laid down their lives, still no measures have been taken for ensuring well being of their families. This matter was never even raised and no funds were sanctioned for this purpose. You feel as if they have no worth in the society. The Ministers from various parties talk of corruption. Is it a police station? The Members of parliament assemble here. The Members of Parliament are elected to this House for formulating policies and programmes for the progress of the nation. We have an Indian Penal code under which F.I.R. can be filed in a police station against the corrupt and the thieves. The suspect may be a Member of Parliament, still he can be arrested and prosecuted. They should not be insulted in the House because they are also elected representatives just like you and me. As you have stated that 40 MPs in this House are criminals. If 40 criminals are there in the House they should be apprehended and sent to prison without paying any attention to their party affiliation. Then the matter can be resolved. Do you have any right to send them to prison? I feel that we should keep in mind the purpose for which we have assembled here and should exchange our views on the relevant matters. You know that congress party was founded in Simla for the purpose of achieving independence. Dr. Hume was the founding father of Congress whose bunglow is still at Simla. He was a Britisher. At the time 'Satyagraha' was launched in many princely states of Himachal Pradesh People also launched an agitation. The revolutionaries were hanged. Some of them were awarded sentence of deportation to Andaman. Some of them were hanged in Delhi and some others in Ambala. Wherever the British had cantonments, they committed atrocities on the poor. Those who took part in the agitation for freedom also included the people of Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribe and other communities. The Brown Sahibs having brown skins changed the atmosphere of their houses as soon as we achieved independence. They started wearing Gandhi cap and Khadi clothes, joined the congress and became patriots. If our martyrs and patriots had a glimpse of these patriots, one would have known the number of true patriots sitting on the other side. Who were these people who exploited the poor, grabbed lands and have been receiving all sort of benefits from the Government? I would like to request the Hon'ble members of the Parliament to consider seriously about all such people who have spread capitalism in the country and who have exploited the poor. We do not consider any measures for the welfare of the labourers. The leaders of Bengal were saying that they have done a lot for the poor but the truth is that they have done virtually nothing for the poor. A loan of ten thousand rupees was waived off during the regime of the coalition Government. Whose loans were waived off? The influential and prominent people misappropriated the government funds. The government loan was not repaid. Has the Government ever tried to give money to the poor? Never. We will have to take into account the fact that this property belongs to the whole nation which should not have been disbursed in such a manner. We should also take into consideration the fact that if we get same purpose solved by abusing the officials and the M.Ps and if we stand before the nation, calling other Members dacoits and robbers and resort to insulting them in the House, will it help improve our image. I do not see this as a healthy trend.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have been elected as an M.P. for 5–7 times and 'Dada' Chitta Basu and Shri Indrajit Gupta also have such an immaculated image that nobody can level any allegations on them. The allegations are made against those who have embezzled funds. We have been unnecessarily called thieves. What happens in this House is that we used to get coupons for providing LPG connections. Why were these coupons given to us? To provide LPG connections to the needy. The facility has now

been withdrawn. We approach the Rajya Sabha Members for providing telephone and LPG connections but they are also helpless. It would be better if this facility is withdrawn altogether. It is an injustice to the members of Lok Sabha. I would also like to say that felling of trees in being resorted on a massive scale in the hilly areas and they have to do this to fulfil their fuel need as LPG is not available there. An amount of Rs. one crore is given to the Members of Parliament for undertaking development work in their areas. However the funds are not properly utilised by the collector. So many MPs are assembled here. I would like to draw your attention to the party politics. Whenever I write to the Minister, the Minister replies that he is looking into the matter. However, no action is taken. I can give you instance of two thousand such pending complaints. Does the Government propose to run the nation in this manner? I would ask you that our goal is to eradicate poverty but how would we eradicate it to achieve this goal. Why doesn't the Government formulate any schemes for eradication of poverty as was the practice of previous Congress Governments. Can poverty be eradicated by abusing the congress or other people? There are many such leaders whose parentage is not known. Nobody knows the names of fathers of prominent leaders. Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indiraji made sacrifices and the entire nation knows it. Then there was Rajiv Gandhi who promised to take us into 21 Century and he fulfilled this promise. It can't be said that nothing has been done in the country. Our population has crossed 96 crore mark. At that time our population was 40 crores out a which 11 crore migrated to Pakistan. Had our population not grown, the country would have become prosperous. Educational network has been expanded. I am sorry to point this out but whatever we are speaking here will be communicationed to the whole world hence this government and the parties should take care that they keep their leaders and themselves in check. We should not insult this country or endanger the pride of our nation. It should be our duty to enhance the prestige of our nation. We can lead our country on the path of progress by making united efforts rather than saying that congress did not do anything, in retaliation. We accuse the communist and then they lay the blame on us.

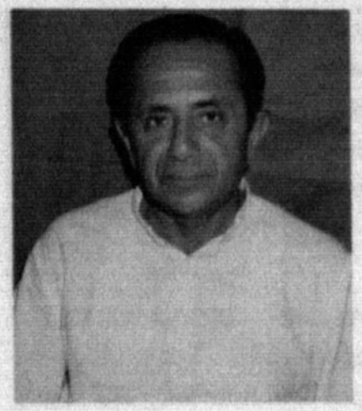
Mr. Chairman, Sir,•6th December was a black day in the history of our nation as this was the day on which Babri Masjid was demolished. Our mothers and daughters were under the impression that some communalist parties would construct an impressive mindir in Ayodhya and for this very purpose, bricks as well as money was collected from the people of each and every state by a particular institution. After the demolition of the mosque, where did those bricks go and where did all the money go? Was any audit conducted in this regard? Is this not an instance of corruption that an institution embezzled all the money collected from the people. If they have indeed embezzled the money, I demand that a CBI enquire should be conducted into the matter to ascertain as to where these bricks and the money have been stored.

Recently, a 'Rath Yatra' was taken out to celebrate the Golden Jubilee year of our independence. Their party came into existence only 18 years back and now they are taking out 'Rath Yatra, to mark the golden jubilee of independence. During their 'Rath Yatra' they just campaigned for their party. We are not going to be instrumental in paving way for general election. We have extended our support to the United Front government after firm decision to this effect was taken by Shri Sitaram Kesri. Further I want to submit that we can generate 20,000 M.W. electricity in Himachal Pradesh and if you want our upliftment then kindly help us in exploitation of our power resources in Himachal Pradesh. At the same time I want to draw your attention towards an incident of cloud burst at Rohadu Chargaon village in my constituency which took a toll 500 lives. The incident occurred on 16th. We made an attempt to raise this issue on the floor of the House but some parties were not in this favour and they hindered the process. We were not allowed to raise the issue. When we stood up and came to the well of the House, we got the support of Shri Panigrahiji and Shri Priyranjan Das Munsi and some woman Members also. We have suffered a loss of Rs. 800 crore there. Therefore, I demand from the Government to release an assistance of Rs. 800 crore to the government of Himachal Pradesh. At least you give us the amount recommended by the team which had visited the state for conducting on the spot study of the damages. You do not give us money. In respect of electricity arrear, I would say that a sum of Rs. 7.19 crore is due on you which should be given to us under the organisation Act, Punjab without any further delay. We are not getting that amount. Stop the excesses on our neighbouring hill people and accord state hood to Uttarakhand and Jharkhand and Vidarbha also. Also, provide a Council to Lakshdwip and Andaman Nicobar Islands so that the people of those areas are no more exploited by the bureaucrates.

At last, I want to say that —

"Resham Ke Galiche Par Dhanwan Ke Bete Sote Hain,

Jinki Badolat Sabh Kuchh Hai, Voh Rat Ko Baithe Rote Hain."



SHRI P.S. GADHAVI

SHRI P.S. GADHAVI (Kutch) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me a chance to express my views on this occasion. This year, we are celebrating the 50th year, *i.e.* Golden Jubilee of our independence. The 50th anniversary of Maharshi Aurobindo also falls on 15 August, 1947. Maharshi Aurobindo, while delivering his speech on the occasion of independence of India had said:

[English]

"August 15, 1947 is the brithday of free India. It marks for her the end of an old era and the begining of a new age. But we can also make it by our life and acts as a free nation an important date in a new age opening for the whole world, for the political, social, cultural and spiritual future of humanity."

[Translation]

Such was a noble dream of Maharshi Aurobindo about India but what is happening today? What we have achieved so far and where we have reached? This is what we are analysing here. The mother had said in her message to Aurobindo vila.

[English]

"Overgrow you small egoistic personality and become a worthy child or our mother India, fulfil your duties with honesty and ractitude and always keep a cheerful and confident smile with a steady trust in the divine grace."

[Translation]

Today everywhere we are discussing the religion. Whenever people talk of religion their voice is suppressed in the name of secularism but religion in India is the grace of divine. In India people have a lot of faith in divine grace. If we have faith in divine grace we can get our many works done which even the Governments can not do. In our Gujarat, many reforms were introduced in this regard. Pandurang Shastri have launched a reformation compaign in which 15 lakh people participate. People are not required to spend any penny from their pocket in spite of the fact hygienic food is served and ill people are healed there. You can volunteer yourself to joint that compaign but not without firm will-power, devotion and faith. I will not go into the details of that compaign rather I will confine myself to the issue of infrastructure because infrastructure includes everything—temple, railways, iron, coal, vehicle and all such things.

At the time of partition in 1947, there was only one part in the entire North India which was located at Karachi but it became a part of Pakistan after partition. At that time, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel pledged to develop a mega port in our country and ultimately Kandla port was developed. Kandla port is the biggest in the entire North India but even after 50 years of our independence the railways have not linked it with Delhi, the Capital city by constructing a broadgauge railway line. There are 11 major ports along our 600 km long stretch of sea shores. Our goods carying capacity is only 230 m tonne whereas the actual requirement is of more than 1000 m tonne but so far we have failed to increase as two we have not converted the existing railway line into broadgauge. Our major ports are confronted with various problems in the field of goods traffic.

[English]

The major problems of ports are overcrowdedness, they are poorly equipped, they provide inadequate services, they have excess manpower and low technology and the maintenance costs are more and productivity less.

[Translation]

A book containing our achievements as failures during the last 50 years has been circulated to us wherein at one place it has been mentioned that.

[English]

According to World Bank estimates, in 1993, because of delays in ports and poor shipping facilities an additional cost of around $ 420 million dollar was imposed on the Indian exporters.

[Translation]

Though we are discussing our achievements during the last 50 years but no attention has been paid towards proper development of our infrastructure due to which we have incurred heavy losses. We have failed to tap the installed capacity of Kandla Port to the optimum level. Today

there are seven berths in Kandla Port but due to the Government's faulty policies, these have not been developed properly.

[English]

There are seven berths, out of which three are reserved for exports and three for imports.

[Translation]

In the year 1990, an order was issued in respect of the berths meant for exports wherein it was said that

[English]

Two berths will be kept reserved for foodgrains.

[Translation]

In 1990, the people demanded to allocate one berth for export of salt, for 60 per cent of total salt in our country is produced only in Kutchh, Gujarat but our demand was turned down by the Government. We also demanded that in case two berths are reserved for foodgrains. Rice produced in our state should also be exported from this port for which a change should be made in the pattern of use of these berths. But so far nothing has been done in that respect and the pattern of use of these berths has not been changed. Therefore, if the Government changes the pattern of use of berth for exporting rice, it is likely to improve the situation significantly.

Efficient management of water at Kandla port is quite important. I am saying this because it is an important port and such a step is also necessary for its infrastructure development. About 45 thousand square kilometres area is lying vacant around it, which is rich in mineral deposits. There is need for development of these mineral resources and one policy can be amended, if needed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, people are migrating from this area. It is the third largest constituency in the country. We have mineral resources in abundance. Due to wrong policy and non-implementation thereof Kandla port is incurring huge losses. Therefore, I request you that proper attention should be paid towards it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now I would like to say one thing about Railways that its development is not sufficient. Proper attention should also be paid towards Western zone like the north east erea. We should have been given facility during drought which has not been done. Our position is worsening as proper attention is not being paid towards our central belt.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, please conclude.

SHRI P.S. GADHAVI : Sir, I would like to say something about Railways. In the Railway Budget, it has been written that:

[English]

It is the single largest employer organisation in the world. But due to inadequate Budgetary support, Railways have been forced to cut back on existing projects of line expansion, renewals, gauge conversion, and electrification of key routes and the procurement of rolling stock has also been adversely affected.

[Translation]

The budgetary support in Sixth Five Year Plan was 75 per cent which was reduced to 42 per cent in the Seventh Five Year Plan and it was further reduced to 19 per cent in Eighth Five Year Plan. But development work in Railway cannot be undertaken due to decline in budgetary support. Whenever any demand is raised about it we are warned about the resources crunch.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, salt is produced in abundance in my area but it lacks facilities required for it, especially the transportation facility.

[English]

Everything is being centralised in the name of decentralisation.

[Translation]

All the powers are vested with the officers and corruption is rampant in offices. Infrastructure cannot be created or developed unless we have will for it.

[English]

The Government can do all these things if it has got the will to do.

[Translation]

Big officers are in offices. In Gujarat Mineral Development Corporation the annual salary of a steno typist is Rs. 6 Lakh *i.e.* Rs. 50,000 per month for no work.

[English]

One stenographer gets Rs. 50,000 per month.

[Translation]

But he does not work as per his salary. He works as contractor there.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Alright, please conclude now.

SHRI P.S. GADHAVI : Alright Sir, I am concluding now. I am telling you about the impact of present policies there. There is no control on them. The provision made under Article 311 of the Constitution of India regarding protection to the Services is being misused. The proposed Power Corporation is yet to be set up in Gujarat. Gas had been emanating there for the last 15 years and additional gas is being burnt. The gas produced there is sent to other states. It may benefit the state if it is used to generate the power. Gas based power station can be set up there at a very low cost. We are often told about resources crunch but resources are not developed and utilised where these are in abundance. But permission is not granted to set up new power project. Similarly a solar power project of 1000 MW is pending for the last three years. Tidel wave project is also not given approval for years. It does not require any big investment. But permission is not granted in this regard.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now conclude. You have taken more than 20 minutes.

SHRI P.S. GADHAVI : I am concluding after raising one point.

The Members speaking previous to me have told that air services are incurring huge loss. I would like to know as to how this loss incurred?

21.00 hrs.

What is the reason for this loss? I have been told that booking of seats are done in the Air India and later on these bookings are cancelled and the planes diverted to other routes and in this way Air India suffer losses due to its faulty policies.

I would like to raise the issue regarding Narmada Irrigation Project which is lying incomplete for the last 15 years.

[English]

Narmada Irrigation System requires to be given a national status.

[Translation]

Not only Gujarat but the entire country could be self-sufficient in the production of foodgrain if Narmada Irrigation Project is given national status. In the same way the proposed project pertaining to sindhu river is also lying pending. The treaty about the sindhu river was concluded in 1960 and we can get only 70 thousand cusek meter water. Sir, through you. I would like to request that the Government should allocate funds for setting up essential infrastructure facilities. I thank you for allowing me to speak.

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA (Mayurbhanj) : Sir, I, through you, would like to congratulate the people on the 50th year of independence. I have been provided an opportunity to speak after a long wait. Therefore, I would like to thank you and greet you too because all the Members raising themselves above the caste and party affiliation one participating in the special session convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of Independence to bring about improvements in future and formulating a plan for the country. Therefore, I would like to thank the hon. Speaker also.

I would also like to remember our old martyrs on the occasion of this Golden Jubilee. I, through this House, would like to pay homage to them. Since you did not provide us enough time for celebrating independence day in our constituencies, therefore, we are here in the House to pay our homage. Therefore, I, through this House would like to pay my homage to those martyres. I would also like to pay my homage to those women, youth and freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country. I would also like to pay my homage to Mahatma Gandhi and Baba Saheb Ambedkar who tried their best to strengthen Dalits, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and paved the way for us to stand in the House and deliver speech.

Sir, I would not take much time because the senior leaders of various parties have said much in their speeches. This session has been going on for the last four days and I have been listening to these speeches with due consideration. Though I am going to deliver my speech but I would not consume much time because the time of the House is very precious. Every day it appears in the

newspaper that Rs. 60 thousands are spent every minute on the proceedings of the House. Therefore, I shall not waste time but raise one or two points through you.

When the hon. Prime Minister unfurled the tricolour on the 50th Independence Day the tricolour was paid regard and respect in every nook and corner, every office, every voluntary organisation of the country. Our rural children studying in schools should learn the meaning of this tricolour, all the three colours used in it and the *Chakra.* I think that the symbol of truth, non-violence and justice, this tricolour paves our way of progress. But when we see the plight of our rural areas, we feel very much ashamed. Our great leaders had certainly realised the importance of this tricolour as a result of which this flag could be unfurled. It should be given due regard. It is our duty to make the students of rural areas aware about it.

When I was a student in a village and saw the leaders and MPs or MLAs, I compared them with Mahatma Gandhi and thought that they would do something for the country. But I am sorry to say that MPs hailing from rural areas are not concerned about the conditions of rural or tribal areas. There also people want to know the definition of a leader. The definition of a leader at present is corruption and the student of dalits and tribals define MPs as 'malpractice'. We should take an oath under this tricolour that as political leaders, we would re-establish the lost glory of our country. We should be ready for the highest sacrifice for the country and our army should also be ready for it.

There is a poem in Oriya—

"Utho Re, Utho Re, Utho Re Santano.
Uthi Ko Aawat Kete Dino,
Purbo Gaurav Purbo Mahima
Odi Nahi Kire Taure Manah."

It was composed by Madhu Babu. He stated in the poem 'wake up' how long would you sleep in this way. You should wake-up now and retain the old glory. I, as a tribal, would say that the Tribals are trying to wake up. The world is watching today as to what we lost during the last 50 years and what we achieved. I am sorry to say that science and technology at other places has made remarkable progress.

Many Speakers have already said much about many issues. Therefore, I am not going to repeat these issues. But the tribals and Harijans in rural areas have no house to live in and no clothes to wear. Therefore, I would like to request, through you, that whatever schemes formulated for them must be implemented. There is something deep in the bottom due to which schemes are not implemented. During the period of Indira Ji and Rajiv Gandhi, villages were used to be declared as ideal villages under which development works were executed in the villages. Likewise, the districts dominated by Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes should be declared ideal districts on the occasion of Golden Jubilee and under ideal district, some funds should be allocated for their development. Though enouh funds are allocated for these districts in the name of welfare, rural development and employment. Many persons are of the opinion that if enough funds are allocated for these districts under the said heads, they would not have chance for embezzlement. Therefore, people feel that when this much allocation is made for the development of the said districts, it could have been achieved.

No Government functions as per our hopes and aspirations. Therefore, the Govt. Should declare ideal districts and make special allocation.

Secondly, I would like to state about our unity. I would also like to raise my grievances related to two three points raised by Vajpayee Ji. There should be unity among ourselves and we should know raising above our party affiliations. Some arrangements should also be made in the House for SC, ST, because there are many SC, ST MPs who have won two-four term but they do not get opportunity to speak once in a year. Therefore, if it reserves seats for them, they should be given time to speak in the House. If no arrangement is made for this speech, what favour can we expect from them?

The persons belonging to SCs and STs in the villages are vying with each other for making progress and here in the House, MP's belonging to SCs and STs are making efforts to get a chance to speak something and pay their tributes. We should also try to come at par with other MPs, therefore, want to request you. ...*(Interruption)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now please conclude.

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA : I would like to make this demand through you that there should be some provision for women, SCs and STs here also so that they also get a chance to march forward. I would also like to say today that the culture of tribals and scheduled castes is definitely different. As I have said earlier that there is only two percent education among SC and ST women. More schools should be opened for tribal women. Since women are the

back-bone of tribal community. A tribal family is supposed to be educated if a women of that family is educated. So I would like to make a request that when it comes about providing education to women belonging to SC and ST communities, the Government should pay attention towards them and with an open heart. ...*(Interruptions)*

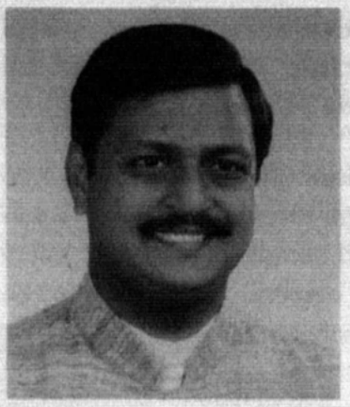
MR. CHAIRMAN : Sushilaji. Please conclude now,

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA : It will take one minute before I conclude. I would like to say two sentences on the women's Bill. Since we have been celebrating golden jubilee of Independence we should not take away the rights of women and what has been envisaged in the women's Bill should be given to them and whatever modifications we want to bring therein. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is because of the reason for having respect towards women, you have been given three minutes more time than others.

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA : What I am saying is that the percentage of education is only two percent among tribal women. They should also get some opportunities and they should also get some employment in villages. They are not demanding a university for them. But I would like to say one thing that we should also pay heed to commitment we have made and the responsibilities which we have towards them. Whichever Government comes in power, should discharge its responsibility and fulfil its commitment towards its people and country because only then we can make enormous progress. Therefore, the Government should know its responsibility and discharge its duties and do whatever is practicable. A commitment was made for our area and that was a rail line to be constructed in Mayurbhanj district under the said commitment. A commitment was also made that a north Orissa university and an agriculture university was to be established there. But the said commitments have not been fulfilled so far. Therefore, I would like to request you. ... *(Interruptions)* I have made my point. The Government should fulfil its commitment and discharge its responsibility. And a last point which I want to make that we will consider ourselves fortunate, if our above demands are fulfilled. We are becoming a prey to pollution nowadays. I would therefore, like to suggest on this occasion of golden jubilee celebrations that MPs, Ministers, legislators and politicians should plant fifty trees each.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you gave me a chance to speak I thank you for that.



SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to attract the attention of the House on three small points on which no member has spoken so far. We have been conveying message to the people of the country for the four days that this or that should be done. I want to submit that we ourselves should also have some sort of introspection. I am a new comer to this House but I want to say that if there is no quorum in the House and the debate is continuing, we cannot preserve the dignity of the House in this manner. The Lok Sabha has got a tradition. We do not raise the question of quorum but if such type of situation continues, the meeting of the Lok Sabha cannot be continued. We are conveying messages to the people of entire country but we should also consider objectives with which the people have elected us. Are we fulfilling these objectives? I want to submit that at least in this year, when we are celebrating golden jubilee of Independence, we should break this tradition. If there is no quorum in the House, the meeting of the House should not be convened so that we can feel that the objective for which the people have sent us here, are we fulfilling that or not? If not, we should fulfil that.

There are seven union territories in India. All members made a references about their own states here but I would like to say that after fifty years of Independence, these territories do not have elected council of people as Shri Manoranjan Bhakta had also mentioned yesterday.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am to speak on that tomorrow.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN : I am going to share your views. Therefore, you give me five minutes more time which you would have taken. Andaman and Nicobar islands are very far away from here but Chandigarh is only 250 km. way from here but there is no elected Council of people there. All the powers are vested in an administrator whereas in remaining states and here at the centre people's representatives run the administration. All the powers of Union territories in India are still vested with an I.A.S. officer or an administrator. Therefore, I want to submit that to sustain the importance of Independence and empowerment of public,

legislative assemblies should be formed there. If it can not be done there right now, an advisory committee of Home Ministry should be set up there consisting of M.Ps as its representatives and meeting of that Committee should regularly be convened in order to ensure people's participation through us. A uniform policy should be followed in respect of all the Union territories.

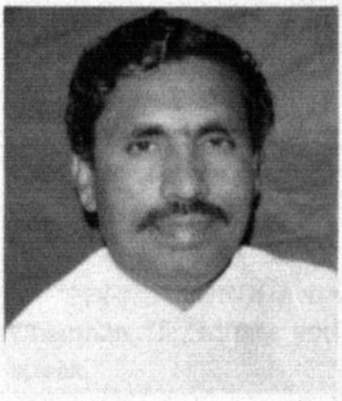
Much has been said about judicial activism here in the House, I do not want to go into that but I want to say something about the condition of judicial system. About 90 posts of judges are lying vacant in various High Courts in India. The condition of cases is as such:

[English]

Unfortunately, that pattern is not being maintained. I request the leaders of all political parties to think over it and adopt an uniform appointment policy for the Judges of the Supreme Court. Regional balance in the appointment of Supreme Court should be maintained.

Lastly, if by the end of this year we can ensure food, electricity, water, roads, schools, dispensaries to each and every citizen of India, I think, we shall be doing a great service to this nation.

With these words, I conclude. I have not taken more than five minutes.



SHRI K.H. MUNIYAPPA

SHRI K.H. MUNIYAPPA (Kolar) : Thank you Mr. Chairman, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak. I also thank our Chief Whip, and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. On this occasion of the 50th Anniversary of our Independence I would like to suggest only two points, I do not want to make a speech.

The dream of Mahatma Gandhi was Gram Swarajya, decentralisation of power whereby power is given in the hands of common people at the Panchayat level. This was implemented by the Government headed by the Indian National Congress.

The most important point I would like to speak about is agriculture. Agriculture is an activity in which 70 per cent of the population of this country is involved. It is the backbone of the country. Allocation in the Budget for agriculture should be made based on this ratio. This is very important.

On the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities, 25 per cent of our population consists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 10 per cent of the population consists of minorities. Adequate allocation is not made for this department in the Central Budget. I request that residential schools should be started in each District for boys and girls belonging to minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and weaker sections of this country.

Coming to electoral reforms, we should go by the party system that exists. The election expenditure incurred by Independents in this country is very high. There must be a constitutional amendment to the effect that the candidates contesting on party tickets must, at least, poll 10 per cent of the votes. If it is done, the number of parties contesting elections will be reduced to four or five. Also, it should be provided that election expenditure will be borne by the State. Once it is done, things will become easier and there will be no corruption. We have to control corruption. It the whole expenditure involved in contesting elections is provided by the State, corruption can be stopped easily.

On the point of delimitation of constituencies, the same constituencies are continuing to be the reserved ones since 1952. A Bill is pending in this regard. There should be rotation of constituencies after every ten years. Reservation of constituencies should be there in all Districts whether it is a Parliamentary constituency or an Assembly constituency.

Another suggestion of mine is that a District should be demarcated as a parliamentary segment, and a Taluk as an Assembly segment. If this is done, functioning of Revenue, Administrative and all other Departments will be streamlined. I am making this request because this is the time to do it when no single Party is in absolute majority in this Eleventh Lok Sabha. All of us should sit together and find a solution for this.

Electoral reforms are a very important subject. That is the point where every problem originates. Corruption starts from there. To be frank, nobody can contest elections without spending sufficient money. How can they get it? They have to either get it from the industry, or beg somebody or do something else. This is the reality. Nobody opens his mouth to say this. We have not handled electoral reforms correctly. We have to take up this issue immediately. The Government should bear the expenditure for all these elections. The

candidate should not spend a single pie. Then only we can work for upliftment of the country based on the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi.

Another thing is that in some parts of the country lot of damage is caused due to floods, but in some parts of the country there is no drinking water. There are 120 districts which have been identified as drought prone areas, where there is no sufficient programme for the development of these areas. There are areas where if we dig to 500 ft. We find water but it contains fluoride and this affects the health of the people. This is the situation in the country. There is no proper planning in any area.

I am sorry to say that the Ninth Plan is not properly balanced with regard to planning and allocation of funds for certain areas. I would, therefore, request all the parties to sit together and review the Plan so that it is properly balanced and all the parts of the country are benefited by this. Priority should also be given to water. I am saying this because we have been suffering because of water problem.

I have been raising this issue of water for the third time in the Parliament, but nobody has come to my rescue. In our area, children get affected by taking water which contains fluoride. They are suffering from bone cancer because of this contaminated water. It has been discovered two years earlier but no action has been taken so far. This is the fate of the people of this country.

This has happened in Kolar and Chitradurga Districts where there is no water and they have to go deep to get water. This causes problem. So, I would request the whole House to take care of not only our district but all those areas which are affected due to shortage of water. So many problems are there, I do not want to mention all of them. These problems should be solved with the consent of all parties, that is what I want to say, so that there is no dispute.

Anyhow, hon. Chairman, you have given me the opportunity to speak today, I thank you, our Leader of the Party, and the Parliament.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House now stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11 A.M.

21.27 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, August 30, 1997/Bhadra 8, 1919 (Saka)